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— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

There Is No Escape

THOSE who wonder why the process of improving local government is as slow as it is might be edified—and perhaps a bit disturbed—by peeking over the shoulder of a member of the League's staff as he corresponds with a local leader of the League of Women Voters:

DEAR MR. ———:

I have been negligent in returning to you the report on the Des Moines survey entitled "About Gold Braid in the Fire and Police Departments" which you let me borrow. I was extremely interested in seeing these figures for they confirmed what I have been contending about our departments being overloaded with higher officers.

These facts and figures have been brought to the attention of our city fathers time and time again. Our local newspaper wrote an editorial on the subject. Yet at our recent commission election in May the director of public safety was re-elected. It was such a disappointment to me to note the apathy of the citizens of this town that I really feel my work has been for naught. Apparently this city is run by disinterested people who have no regard for the future of the town. Our faithful and outstandingly able Mr. ——— was actually defeated and in his place a young fellow just out of law school has taken over the finance department. You can't imagine how discouraged some of us are.

However, to know that there are men like yourself still living who are working for the good things of life is some comfort. It does not pay to get too disturbed over politics as there are other problems to worry about at present.

I want you to know that I have always deeply appreciated your kindness and coöperation in all my efforts. You must be as disappointed as I that nothing has come of your splendid survey of this city.

DEAR MRS. ———:

Tragic as the news in your recent letter is, I thank you for sending it. The most tragic news, however, is that you are turning your attention from local affairs, against which your spear has been momentarily blunted, to "other problems"—presumably national or world affairs.

Isn't this wholly escapist? What good is it going to do us to fight for freedom and self-determination in the world while at the same time we sacrifice it at home? Anyone who has been as active as you have been in the League of Women Voters knows that local affairs are the heart of our whole system. This country is made up of thousands of local units of government. What happens in them determines what happens also at the state and national levels and, hence, in the world. Do you think that the kind of political leadership you have in your community can send any high-minded and unselfish representative into the state or national councils of either political party?

It had seemed to me at the time we were conducting the survey that many people recognized the outstanding qualifications and ability of your commissioner of finance. He probably is the type of man who was above using his office to form a personal political machine. Therefore you and other intelligent citizens were duty bound to form a militant organization to see that he was retained. The "best people" of your city walked out on their responsibility and thereby have robbed themselves of the services of a fine man.

You must not give up. I am sure the majority of your people do not favor spoils politics, waste, and inefficiency. They need to have the facts. They need to have the issues made clear to them. They need unselfish, intelligent leadership.

You have the best possible issues on which to base a movement for thoroughgoing reform. The commission form of government which you have is the worst possible one for your city not only in the opinion of almost all authorities on local government but also on the basis of performance. You can see what kind of men it puts in office, what kind it rejects. The survey which your commissioners have permitted to gather dust gives you issues for years to come.

Why not study the successful local civic organizations of other cities such as the one in Cincinnati? Why not gather together in a common effort all of the good citizen organizations which now exist?

There really isn't very much you can do about Mr. Schickelgruber; he's too far away and won't even notice you. But there's a lot you can do about your little two-by-four dictators at home.

The Occupancy Tax Proposal

ONE of the most challenging suggestions by the Treasury's Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations[1] is that cities make use of an occupancy tax "as either a replacement or a supplement to the general property tax."

This proposal, while not entirely new, is one which undoubtedly will be widely discussed, for it is clear that our cities, now depending so largely on the real property tax, are facing an increasingly uncertain fiscal future. Many may consider this a possible solution.

The Committee points out the need for "some new source of local revenue which will (1) not overlap existing federal and state taxes, (2) enable the localities to tap their own resources without running hat in hand to central governments, (3) cover all or a vast majority of the interested citizenry, and (4) not be regressive."

Without sources which either are new or from which higher levels of government might be persuaded to withdraw in favor of municipalities, the need for "grants in aid" from state and federal governments, with their accompanying controls, is bound to become even greater.

It would obviously make a considerable difference, however, whether the proposed occupancy tax replaces *or* supplements the property tax but, as the Committee suggests, the plan might be introduced step by step on a gradual experimental basis. What most cities are looking for is *additional* sources of revenue rather than *substitute* sources and it will take considerable forbearance to reverse the usual process of piling new taxes on the existing structure.

One argument the Committee advances in favor of the occupancy tax is that it would shift a large part of the tax burden from the shoulders of the owners. Will it, in fact? While it might be possible to set it up to achieve this, theoretically and in general the owner has already shifted to the occupant the property

[1]See "Treasury Committee Analyzes General Property Tax," p. 380, this issue.

tax as well as cost of maintenance, interest on investment, etc. Who actually benefits if the rent bill is now to be merely divided up more visibly, so much for taxes and so much for the owner?

On the other hand, suppose, for the sake of producing the needed increased revenue, the occupancy tax is simply in addition to the property tax. Might this not, unless accompanied by compensating features, hasten the flight of people from central cities which has been one of the chief causes of urban blight? When the cost of his dwelling place becomes greater than he is willing to pay, the occupant seeks cheaper quarters. He moves to the outskirts or beyond.

This proposal has so many ifs, ands, and buts hanging to it that real discussion may have to await the preparation of a specific plan that gets down into the realm of dollars and cents. In any event, it has this outstanding element to recommend it: it will show the average man, even though he owns no real estate, that he nevertheless is a taxpayer. It should, therefore, make him a more intelligent and interested voter—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Perhaps this apparent failure in coöperation in cities and in counties, under the "federal system of government," wherein many of the key officials are elected by the people, and such officials feel responsibility only to the voters, is the strongest argument for the "manager" form of government for such units. The word "manager", to say the least, implies power to compel obedience, and a good manager will do that.

Of course, the form of government in itself can neither make nor break you as no system is a substitute for honesty and integrity among human beings; nevertheless, I am inclined after years of experience to place my money on the "commission-manager plan of city government," as furnishing the best prospect of achieving coöperation among the city officers and employees.

From address entitled "Coöperation of County and Local Units of Government," by Frank B. Thomas, head of the Municipal Division of the Ohio State Bureau of Inspection and Supervision of Public Offices.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Youth Builds Today for a Better Tomorrow

Philadelphia's high school students — public, Catholic, private—conduct Junior Town Meeting of the Air; discuss citizenship in a democracy.

By HERBERT C. MORRIS
Chairman of Committee on City Government and Education
Philadelphia Committee of Seventy

A GREAT many Philadelphia voters are blushing these days as they learn, some for the first time, from their children where they have been remiss in their citizenship.

Philadelphia's Junior Town Meeting of the Air was launched in March as a new educational project and has been carried on through the combined resources and coöperation of the secondary schools of Philadelphia —public, Catholic and private. The series of twelve weekly half-hour programs, broadcast by Station KYW from high school auditoriums with student bodies in the audience, is giving Philadelphia's youth an opportunity to express their opinions on topics of interest both to them and to their parents.

Behind the idea are two fundamental principles:

First, the problem of securing the interest of youth in local and state government. The originators of the plan, conscious of the low ebb of interest in civic affairs among a large number of adults who take their citizenship and its accompanying responsibilities for granted, believe that the answer lies in educating youth by practical methods to an awareness of the principles of self-government. A study of the Hitler Youth movement in Germany shows that the thinking of a majority can be changed within a period of ten years. Directed into the right channels, for the ultimate good of democracy, the possibilities of such a youth plan are limitless.

The second principle aims to accomplish two objectives: the training of youth for intelligent citizenship and participation in political and public affairs, and through them, reaching the present voters. As the young people discuss at home the problems presented by the Junior Town Meetings, the interest of the adults is whetted to find out more about the government we are fighting to preserve, and to take a more active part in its administration.

The creator and guiding spirit of the idea is the Committee of Seventy, a Philadelphia civic organization which launched the plan by turning over its thirty-ninth annual luncheon meeting to show the city's educators and civic leaders how it could be done. The first of the broadcast series was presented with six college and high school students discussing "Youth and the Ballot," assisted by George V. Denny, Jr., director of America's Town Meeting of the Air.

The program was highly successful and from then on the schools took over and adopted the plan as a

means of improving and broadening their courses in civic education. If the now-famous *New York Times* history quiz, with its discouraging results, is any criterion, broadening and re-emphasis are sorely needed in every school system in the country. The Philadelphia schools and civic leaders are not only among the first to realize the lack, but the first to do something concrete and practical about it.

Schools Listen to Program

Every Thursday morning, from 9:30 to 10 o'clock, general assemblies, civics, English, political and social science classes are gathered in the schools throughout the city to hear the Philadelphia Junior Town Meeting of the Air. Back in many homes in this city of two million people thousands of amazed and proud adults are now tuning in the program to hear serious and intelligent discussions by seventeen-year-olds of such subjects as these: "Is our party system of government functioning properly?" "What can we do about absenteeism at the polls?" "What can young people do to improve race relations toward a more effective democracy?" (The participants on this broadcast were an American Indian, a Japanese American, a Negro, a Jew, and a Chinese American. It was interesting that these young people concluded that minority groups in a democracy are entitled to equal rights if and when, by example and illustration, they prove their worth and value to self-government.) "Should the voting age be lowered to 18?" "Should we restrict the right to vote?" "Are we getting the type of government we deserve?"

In all, sixteen public, eleven Catholic, and nine private schools have been represented on these broadcasts, with four students each week presenting three-minute talks on the selected subject and four alternates handling rebuttal and audience questions. Among the moderators have been the presidents of Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Girard Colleges, Germantown Friends School, the superintendent and associate superintendent of the public schools of Philadelphia, the superintendent of the Catholic schools, and the president of a life insurance company.

As proof of the serious attitude of these Philadelphia young people and the intelligence of their expressed opinions, here are excerpts from several of the broadcasts:

"Youth thinks of both patriotism and citizenship, not as flag-waving or empty emotionalism, but as a virtue by which we pay back to our country our debt for civic benefits received."

"If we want to get and keep the rights of democratic citizenship, we must give unselfishly in the exercise of our duty."

"It remains for all Americans, irrespective of party, to think first, last, and always of the good of the country, rather than of the political party. Then we shall have the party system of government functioning properly."

"The first step toward corrupt government is taken when the individual feels his vote will make no difference in the result."

"What the American citizen needs

most today is not a greater opportunity to vote but a greater interest in voting."

"We must begin to understand the youth of all racial, political, and religious groups. To know them is to understand them. The youth of America can and will do something toward a more effective democracy. It is in our power and we will succeed."

Young people all over the country are today bearing the burden of their elders' indifference to their government and public affairs. They know this and are determined that the same shall not be true of their generation. Philadelphia's educators and civic leaders believe their plan of open discussion and practical education in government is a strong bulwark to the future of democracy in the United States.

That the plan has succeeded beyond a question is indicated by some of the results already achieved in the schools. Principals, teachers, and students who have been following the broadcasts have sent in their reactions and suggestions, all showing a tremendous enthusiasm and interest, and a strong desire to see the Junior Town Meetings made a permanent part of the school program. According to these reports, Town Meeting broadcasts are discussed at length in classrooms, recordings of the programs are listened to, papers written on the topics, questions are prepared for the forum part of the broadcasts, and current events classes have been stimulated. It has been found that these broadcasts are an incentive to students to discuss matters of public interest and to think seriously about vital topics. They are creating greater interest in civic affairs and a greater sense of responsibility toward government.

The schools and the backers of the plan are particularly encouraged by reports from students that the parents, convinced of their children's serious interest in government, are listening to the programs and carrying on the discussions in the homes, thus accomplishing a step toward the second objective of the idea.

Plans are now under way for the Committee of Seventy and other Philadelphia civic leaders to put to actual, practical use what has already been gained. Following up a project tried out last year to get out the vote at the November election by publicizing it through the school children[1]—64 per cent of Philadelphia's voters voted then compared with 52½ per cent for the state and 52 per cent for the country—this year intensive campaigns will be put on to bring the voters to the polls. It will again be done through the schools and school children, many of whom have now learned more definitely the value of exercising the democratic privilege of voting and are urging their parents to vote intelligently for the men and women who are to administer public affairs.

Now that Philadelphia has proved what can be done with a little effort and a lot of coöperation, all it wants is to see Junior Town Meetings spreading throughout the towns and cities in every state in the nation.

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[1]See "School Children Mobilized in 'Get Out the Vote' Drive," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1942, p. 633.

State Legislative Highlights—1943

War and postwar problems first on agendas of the 44 lawmaking bodies meeting this year; sessions tended to be shorter with legislative product restricted.

By HERBERT WILTSEE, Editor
State Government

THIS year, for the first time in our history, forty-four state legislatures—excluding only those of Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia—have met in regular session with the nation actively engaged in war. While 1917 was a "war" year, many sessions had adjourned when the United States joined the Allied Powers in April.

The perplexing problems of the war have determined the form which the greater part of the 1943 legislative product has taken. Defense and preparation for the postwar years have held the attention of legislators from Augusta and Tallahassee to Sacramento. Laws affecting labor, welfare, housing, finance and taxation, interstate relations, and other broad fields were shaped to a great extent by the exigencies of war and the needs of the peace to follow.

Owing, probably, to the same factors, the 1943 sessions have tended to be shorter than those of other years, while the total legislative product, at least in some cases, has been restricted by the determination of the lawmakers to confine themselves to matters of the greatest urgency.

It is estimated that over five hundred laws were passed by 1941 legislatures dealing with various aspects of defense and war. The final figures will show, in all probability, that 1943 sessions devoted as much attention to the subject.

Several legislatures have acted to clothe their governors or defense councils, or both, with extraordinary powers to dispose of emergency war situations. California, Connecticut, Delaware, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Washington are among these. The California law sets up a fourteen-man War Council to advise the governor. This trend toward a stronger wartime state executive was forecast by similar laws passed during 1942 in Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island.

Civilian defense has received considerable attention. Defense agencies in several states have been reconstituted. Defense of the home front was involved also in Nevada's creation of a state police force and in Colorado by the authorizing of a state guard to replace the national guard called into active service. Uniform blackout regulations for protection against enemy action resulted from a tri-state accord between California, Oregon, and Washington, with federal authorities participating. The California legislature pioneered in another direction by becoming the first to provide compensation for injured civilian defense volunteers.

Defense housing laws totaling almost one hundred were submitted in forty states. Many of them extended the authority to local housing bodies to develop and administer projects for war workers where housing

shortages exist. In addition, Maine, Nevada, and South Dakota authorized local participation in war and low-cost housing programs, and Arizona, Georgia, Montana, and Vermont passed measures relaxing restrictions to permit occupancy of low-cost projects by war workers. A Rhode Island law allows local housing authorities to help neighboring communities with their housing problems.

Benefits for Servicemen

An entire category of laws benefits persons in the armed forces. The most common type is that which safeguards the equity of servicemen in unemployment compensation funds. With the passage of laws in 1943, almost all the states have perfected amendments to the unemployment compensation statutes eliminating penalties which would otherwise be charged against servicemen for time spent in the armed forces.

The jobs of servicemen are protected by laws of three states—Nevada, Rhode Island, and Utah. The Rhode Island law provides penalties for an employer who refuses to restore a job to a member of the armed services if the member applies within forty days of discharge and the employer is able to rehire him.

Over a dozen states have modified their income and other tax laws to benefit servicemen, while many others have taken steps to guarantee their voting rights, through modification or elimination of poll taxes, registration provisions, and other means. Absentee voting was made possible in Delaware when the 1943 legislature endorsed a measure passed by the preceding legislature thus amending the state constitution. Servicemen as well as others will benefit from the repeal of the poll tax by the Tennessee legislature. The widespread movement to lower the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen was, in part, espoused as an obligation owed to those in service. Only in Georgia did the effort meet with legislative approval. The measure, a proposed constitutional amendment, will be voted on by the people of Georgia later this year.

Other benefit measures adopted include veterans' rehabilitation funds in North Dakota, Oregon, and Wisconsin, educational provisions in Montana, Oregon, and South Dakota, a bonus law in Vermont, provision for free higher education of veterans' children in New Hampshire, North Carolina, and West Virginia, and acts granting servicemen the same rights enjoyed by veterans of World War I, in New York and many other states. The Oregon educational measure is especially worthy of attention. It proposes to grant Oregon veterans financial aid to attend any public or accredited private school in the state to the amount of $75 the first month of attendance, $50 a month for eight months, and $35 a month for nine months of each subsequent school or college year.

The need to develop plans and programs for postwar reconstruction and development led the legislatures to consider measures toward that end. Special state agencies to coördinate plans and activities have been created or authorized in at least ten states in 1943. In several cases—including California, Georgia, and In-

diana—pre-existing planning boards were abolished and the new agencies substituted.

Fiscal preparation for the postwar years, involving the creation of reserve funds from surpluses or bond issues, was considered by the legislatures of many states, some of which earmarked funds for public works construction. Action of this kind was taken by Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, and North Dakota. Bond issues for postwar public works were approved in Delaware, Montana, New York, and North Carolina.

Of equal importance have been measures to enable local jurisdictions to plan ahead for their postwar needs. Nine states had passed laws permitting local governments to build reserve funds for postwar purposes by the end of 1942. At least seven states—Arizona, Connecticut, Minnesota, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island—have taken similar action in 1943.

Underlining the postwar importance of aeronautics are laws in Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, and New Jersey giving permission to all or certain of their cities and counties to purchase land for the establishment of airports and to finance them. Arizona and Maine have given the subject of local planning consideration by enabling their cities, towns, and counties to create planning boards and, in the latter state, zoning systems.

Taxation and Finance

Despite unprecedented revenues, the desire to preserve funds not immediately needed for postwar purposes, coupled with the fear that revenues would go down as the sale of consumers' goods declined, prevented the repeal or decrease of tax rates except in a few instances. In some cases, the need for additional revenues led to the adoption of new taxes.

The major tax relief offered by the 1943 legislatures related to income taxes. South Dakota and West Virginia abolished their income levies outright, while Iowa, Maryland, New York, Oregon, and Wisconsin granted taxpayers substantial reductions. California, likewise, lowered rates not only on personal incomes but on corporation income and on bank corporation franchise taxes. West Virginia also exempted from the 2 per cent consumers' sales tax all food purchased up to fifty cents, and Nevada reduced the tax rate on property valuation. Various types of tax relief were granted to frozen merchandise dealers in Minnesota, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, while motor fuel tax exemptions were extended to airplane operators by laws of Arkansas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Washington.

Among the 1943 increases are a one per cent "pay-as-you-go" tax on gross incomes in Delaware, to expire at the end of 1944, and a tax of one cent per ten cigarettes in the same state. The Iowa income tax law was amended to apply to temporary war workers.

Indiana, North Dakota, and West Virginia have imposed or re-enacted motor fuel and gasoline taxes, while Idaho, Utah, and Washington have assessed new or increased existing taxes on liquors. Taxes on "juke

boxes" were imposed in Oklahoma and Oregon, the latter also levying a 3 per cent sales tax which will be submitted to the voters in November. North Dakota re-enacted a 2 per cent retail sales tax and Nebraska increased its head tax for public assistance from two to three dollars a year. Washington became the seventh state to levy a special excise tax on motor vehicles in lieu of general property taxes.

Colorado's general statute requiring reimbursement for all out-of-state auditing brought to two—Mississippi is the other—the states making this provision. The law places the cost for out-of-state audits on the taxpayer. Also related to tax administration was North Carolina's adoption of the enabling act proposed by the Council of State Governments to give the commissioner of revenue power to enter into agreements with the federal government or with any state or political subdivision of a state for the purpose of coördinating tax administration and collection.

Labor Legislation

A great volume of labor laws has been considered in 1943. New notes in this field were struck as the result, first, of growing manpower shortages, and second, of strikes and disputes in defense and war industries.

Manpower laws have been especially numerous. Three states—Maryland, Delaware, and South Carolina—have adopted stringent "work-or-fight" measures providing penalties for unemployed males, not in school, who refuse to accept employment. More common have been laws adopted in over a quarter of the states altering statutory requirements to sanction wider use of women workers. Some, including Washington's law, assure women of equal pay for equal work.

Employment of boys, previously restricted, has been made possible, particularly in bowling alleys and in dairy and farm work, in several states. Still others have lowered the age limits to permit boys to obtain conditional chauffeur and driving licenses. Authorization of shorter school terms or unusual recesses to release students for farm work has been made in North Carolina, California, and Utah, while New York continued previous authority to release pupils for planting and harvesting, and added authorization for student work in canneries. An interesting sign of the times as it relates to students and the manpower situation is a Nebraska law permitting junior colleges to suspend until 1947 without loss of status.

Prisoners are made available for work in Maryland and North Carolina. Recipients of old-age assistance in California and Montana have been encouraged to leave assistance rolls to accept seasonal work. In this connection, several legislatures have memorialized Congress to amend federal regulations to permit older citizens to do odd jobs without forfeiting state aid.

Special measures have been taken to meet the shortage of professional workers and public servants. Indiana has prohibited the retirement of municipal police officers on pension for the duration, while Maine has done the same for state police. Re-

tired school teachers are encouraged to return to work by Arkansas, California, and North Carolina laws, and many states have lowered teaching requirements in order to issue emergency teachers' certificates. Laws easing the requirements for practice by physicians, surgeons, dentists, or nurses have passed in Delaware, Kansas, Nevada, and Washington.

Measures requiring legal responsibility of labor unions and their representatives have drawn much attention. Colorado, Kansas, Missouri, and Texas adopted laws tightening control over labor organizations and requiring their licensing and periodic filing of financial and membership reports. The intent of these bills, expressed in the Texas law, is to establish regulation of unions, their officers, organizers, and other representatives, as a public policy. Anti-violence bills were placed on the statute books of Arkansas and Michigan, while identical laws requiring periodic statements and limiting certain union activities passed in Idaho and South Dakota.

Over half of the 1943 sessions studied laws to increase workmen's compensation. Minnesota and Michigan broadened their statutes to provide general coverage of occupational diseases, while Arizona and Oregon passed occupational disease laws for the first time. Compensation for injuries has been liberalized in Indiana and several other states. A Rhode Island proposal establishes a curative center for rehabilitating injured workmen.

In the field of unemployment compensation, much has been done. Over twenty states liberalized the provisions of their laws in this regard, raising maximum and minimum payments, the period during which payments are made, and the groups covered. To safeguard funds against heavy postwar demands by workers and demobilized servicemen, several states have assessed larger "war risk" payments against employers whose payrolls have expanded greatly within the last two or three years.

Social Legislation

Child welfare, public health, public assistance, and related subjects have not been ignored, although they have not held the spotlight as much as in other years. As funds for the support of these services have mounted, or as the cost of living has gone up, the movement to increase assistance to the unfortunate has gained strength.

Old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent and underprivileged children have been the subject of many laws. One of the most liberal amendments was passed in California where the maximum monthly allowance for the needy aged was raised to $50. In Maine and other states the ceiling was lifted to $40. A Colorado amendment, subsequently approved by the Social Security Board, increases the value of property which recipients of assistance may possess.

The provision of day nurseries to care for children of working mothers was also considered. At least eight legislatures authorized schools or other agencies to establish such nurseries, or provided funds for their establishment.

Two states—Idaho and Wyoming—adopted premarital examination laws. Twenty-eight states now require examination of both male and female before issuance of marriage licenses. The waiting period laws, designed to prevent "gin marriages" and "child marriages" are losing popularity, however. Illinois abolished its waiting period two years ago, California this year, and Maryland has eliminated its requirement when a person in the armed forces is concerned. In the field of divorce law, the resident requirement in North Carolina has been lowered from one year to six months.

Aroused by increasing venereal disease rates, several states adopted more stringent measures to combat prostitution. Most of these new laws carry particularly heavy penalties for the exploiters of prostitutes.

State Government and Employees

The usual number of administrative shifts and changes came before 1943 legislatures. One of the most important of these was the creation in Michigan of a new Department of Business Administration to effect economies and to suggest means of consolidating functions and activities. It resembles somewhat the Minnesota Commission of Administration.

Reapportionment was acted on in Pennsylvania and New York. In the latter, the 1943 action is the first since 1917. The legislature of the Empire State also changed the beginning of the fiscal year from July 1, used by almost two-thirds of the states, to April 1, also used by Washington and Wyoming.

Measures to grant retirement plan benefits to state employees and to raise their salaries were considered. In part these were adopted to offset the effect of more lucrative federal and industrial employment, as well as to compensate for increased costs of living. With the adoption by the Michigan legislature of a retirement plan for state employees, about half the states had taken such action. A similar proposal in Wisconsin was vetoed. Supreme court and circuit court jurists in Oregon are affected by a retirement plan adopted for them. Teachers benefit from pension systems adopted in Arizona, Oklahoma, and Nevada.

Some states permit employees of local governments to participate in their retirement systems. Colorado in 1943 became the tenth state to make such provision in a law covering certain city, county, and school employees.

A score of legislatures found it desirable to raise salary levels. At least ten states took this action for their own workers. Uniformly, these laws increase salaries below certain maximums. School teachers also benefit from increases in almost as many states. In this connection, Utah became the twenty-fifth state to pass a minimum salary law for teachers.

Highways and Motor Vehicles

The impact of war was reflected clearly in developments affecting highways and vehicles. Many legislatures empowered their executive departments to provide new types of vehicle license plates because of essential metal shortages. As a result, the

combinations of new and old plates, tabs, and windshield stickers used for the current year will probably be retained for the duration. The matter of highway speeds likewise drew attention. Many of the laws granting extraordinary wartime powers to governors empowered them to set limits as conditions require. In several other states, special authorization was granted. The governor was thus empowered in Minnesota and the State Highway Department in Delaware.

Several states legislated to liberalize their regulations governing the maximum lengths, gross weights, and gross load limits of trucks and trailer combinations. Greater concern was not shown for this problem, however, because the states had agreed in 1942 to apply uniform regulations for the duration.

In the field of reciprocity laws, several agreements relating to trucks, commercial vehicles, and passenger automobiles were reached. In the southwest, an administrative accord affects Oklahoma on the one hand and Arkansas and Texas on the other. Legislative action led to the adoption of a reciprocal truck bill in New Hampshire, and to the negotiation of a pact ending a trucking war between Wisconsin and Michigan.

Indiana, Oregon, and Washington enacted new driver responsibility laws requiring financial ability to pay for accidents. In the field of motor vehicle inspection, several states have been forced by loss of personnel and other reasons to make readjustments. Laws in Connecticut, Delaware, South Carolina, Vermont, and Washington are designed to abandon or curtail the periodic inspections.

The 1943 legislatures, especially of western states, have shown interest in the construction of flight strips along highways. These laws, more or less uniform, authorize state highway departments to coöperate with the U. S. Public Roads Administration.

Interstate Legislation, Uniform Laws

Several examples of interstate accord have been mentioned in preceding connections. Important developments in the field of river and marine agreements deserve special mention, however. The Arizona legislature provided for the consummation of a contract between the state and the federal government looking toward that state's adherence to the Colorado River Compact. All the other states in the Colorado basin have signed the Compact, which was promulgated in 1925.

The Republican River Compact, signed December 31, 1942, came before the legislatures of Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska for review, and received legislative approval. Georgia ratified the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact and became a member of the Compact Commission, while Texas extended until 1947 her adherence to the interstate compact to conserve oil and gas.

Uniform laws were also considered in 1943. A total of more than sixty adoptions of the sixty-five recommended uniform laws brought to about eight hundred the uniform laws on the statute books of the states. South Dakota adopted seven

(Continued on Page 372)

Philadelphia Streamlines Personnel Plan

Civic groups and public employees combine to secure job reclassification and salary standardization in the city's civil service.

By EDWARD B. SHILS
Philadelphia Civil Service Commission

WORLD War II has had a bombshell effect on personnel policies in the city of Philadelphia. Municipal employees reacted similarly to those in private industry. Demands for higher wages to meet increased living costs were made by the city employee organizations. The month of September 1942 will be remembered by the rank and file of the 15,000 civil service employees as a period of turbulent employee unrest.

In answer to employee and public pressure the administration raised once more the oft-debated subject of job classification and salary standardization. A special councilmanic committee, appointed September 15, 1942, by the president of City Council, decided to undertake a modern survey forthwith.

Back in 1920 a classification study was made for City Council by Griffenhagen and Associates at a cost of $30,000. The findings of this group were published but never put into effect. In 1930 a survey was made by J. L. Jacobs and Company at a cost of approximately $20,000. This report was published by the Civil Service Commission but never adopted by City Council. As a result the average employee was not too hopeful of the usual classification approach, visualizing a costly and voluminous report without subsequent action.

When the decision to reclassify was made in September 1942, the Pennsylvania Economy League offered to do the work necessary for an over-all classification of the city personnel without cost to the city. This offer was accepted speedily by Council's special subcommittee.

The League was prompted to make its offer to the city because it felt it afforded a ready-made opportunity for a worthwhile contribution in line with the League's fixed policy of "Better Government at Less Cost." It was in a position to begin the survey without delay. It had available for immediate use its entire state staff; in addition, many private industries associated with the League, who employed technicians skilled in job classification, were eager to lend these experts for the undertaking.

Among those who helped in preparing the general scope of the classification study and the methods to be followed were Dr. William C. Beyer, Director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, who not only took part in discussions on the original proposition but also has been extremely active since in supplying the Civil Service Commission with material and advice; Dr. C. Canby Balderston, Dean of the Wharton

School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania, and classification consultant to the War Department, who gave generously of his time and experience in the formulation of a proper plan; and Dr. Stephen S. Sweeney, Director of the Institute of Local and State Government of the University, who participated in the initial discussions and has since given helpful counsel.

With this able assistance the entire undertaking assumed the aspect of a community effort.

Immediately, the Pennsylvania Economy League was confronted with the necessity of doing as much of the job classification as it could before December 15, 1942, the deadline for the adoption of the 1943 budget under the city charter. To meet this demand, it was decided to make the fullest use of data gathered in the former classification studies.

With the help of the private personnel experts, who contributed nearly 1800 manhours, recommendations changing the titles of more than 15,000 civil service employees were given to City Council prior to December 15.

Employee Pressure

City Council's decision to classify and standardize was greatly influenced by employee groups which rapidly assumed a more important role in city affairs.

Foremost in size of membership was Local 222, the Municipal Workers Union, a member of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers, A.F. of L. This group consisted of 3,500 per diem workers employed in the Department of Public Works. In September 1942 this union threatened to strike if two conditions were not met: first, a classification survey; second, a cost-of-living increase pending a final determination of standard salaries.

The Union pointed out that reclassification was badly needed in the Department of Public Works since over eight hundred employees with the title "laborer" were driving trucks and performing a variety of mechanical and clerical duties of a competitive nature at the labor rate of compensation.

Local 222 has had a stormy career. In March 1937 the ash and garbage wagon drivers struck. In October 1938 this union participated in an eight-day strike of street cleaners and rubbish collectors, who demanded reinstatement of 264 discharged employees and a guarantee of full wages. The city government granted the Union's requests after trash piled up all over the city, and in return received a pledge of no future strikes.

A contract with Local 222 was signed in 1939 and in 1940 a new contract, covering the period to May 1944 and also containing a no-strike clause, was executed. In September of 1941 the Union again threatened to strike because of increased living costs. A 10 per cent increase was won, averting the strike.

This group was also partially responsible for the granting of a $200 bonus in 1942 to all city employees whose salaries did not exceed $2,500 per annum, and a $400 bonus in 1943 to employees whose salaries did not exceed $3,500 per annum. It is

apparent from the history of this employee group that it possessed great influence as a bargaining factor in employee affairs.

Other employee associations in Philadelphia city government comprise: Philadelphia Civil Service Employees Association, Police and Fire Fraternals, and the Municipal War Veterans Association. All of these organizations vigorously backed the classification study.

The Philadelphia Civil Service Employees Association increased its membership from 500 to 3,000 persons in the course of a year. Its members represent the rank and file of clerical, stenographic, and professional workers in the city employ. It has come out strongly for the elimination of long standing salary and title inequities, the strengthening of civil service tenure, development of a proper pension system, protection of seniority and other civil service rights, and the determination of a proper and orderly system of promotions. Although not normally a vociferous organization, it has watched the growing success of the per-diem workers organization and urged equal recognition for the "white collar" employees of the city.

Civil Service Strengthened

All the city employee groups deserve credit for the work they have done in Philadelphia. Their progressiveness has tended to break down the inertia in the employer-employee relationship in Philadelphia city government. It is heartening to see in Philadelphia today a marked trend in civil service progress and personnel techniques despite the reverse trend in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania and in the federal program. There also has been much pressure exerted in Philadelphia to let down the bars of competitive examinations because of war employment conditions, but fortunately employee association groups have come out strongly and successfully against these proposals.

Value of Classification

On June 23, 1942, six months prior to the completion of the classification study, another civic organization, the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, described municipal payrolls as "being in a chaotic condition."

This organization reported that a brief analysis of the city and county budget for 1942 disclosed:

"That city departments employed 291 'clerks' under eighty-one different titles and forty-two different rates of pay ranging from $480 to $4,000 per annum;

"That county departments employed 807 'clerks' under 142 different titles and twenty-nine rates of pay ranging from $1,200 to $5,000 per annum;

"That 109 'watchmen' were employed on the city payrolls at wages ranging from $720 to $1,500 annually, and that seventeen 'watchmen' were employed by county departments under four different titles and rates of pay ranging from $1,300 to $1,800 per year;

"That the city employed thirty-eight 'messengers' under three titles and eleven rates of pay ranging from $450 to $1,500, while the county employed twenty 'messengers' with

nine different titles and six rates of pay ranging from $500 to $1,800;

"That inequalities in titles and rates of pay stifled initiative and discouraged trained persons from entering the city service."

Fifteen thousand questionnaires were distributed to all employees working under the civil service provisions of the city charter. These included employees in the Departments of Public Safety, Public Works, Public Health, and Public Welfare.

Each questionnaire was carefully filled out by the employee. On the face of this brief but informative card were spaces reserved for: payroll title, salary, department, bureau, division, name of employee, length of tenure, regularly scheduled hours, amount of usual overtime, description of daily duties showing distribution of working hours devoted to each task, and space for employee signature.

The reverse side of the card was filled in by the supervisor. Spaces on this side covered truth of employee statement, additions to or deletions from the employee's description of duties, the nature of supervision, civil service status of the employee, budget item from which employee was paid, and a space for signature of the supervisor.

Close coöperation by department heads, employees, and employee associations made the weighty procedure a quick success. Provision was set up for discussion of the new titles with supervisors, employees, and employee group. Both the Economy League and later the classification consultant employed by the Civil Service Commission made a number of adjustments and refinements in the original classifications.

During the entire classification process constant use was made of the Jacob's classification report of 1930. It was discovered that with the exception of certain technological changes occurring during the twelve-year period, the majority of the 1930 titles and specifications could still be used. This ready asset cut the work by at least 50 per cent. The recommendations for standardized salaries made by the 1930 Jacobs report were used only for reference, inasmuch as the price paid labor, as compared to that paid the "white collar" worker, made a phenomenal gain in the twelve-year period.

Results of Classification

There was little relationship between the 1942 budget titles and salaries paid for apparently equal positions. Until City Council adopted the 1943 title changes, it was virtually impossible to compare salaries in the budget on the basis of titles, duties, and responsibilities. An example of this is afforded in the 1943 reclassified title "junior clerk." Gathered under this heading were twenty-three 1942 budget titles:

Clerk	Instrument Repairman
Laborer	Messenger
Typist clerk	Patrolman
X-Ray record clerk	Fire clerk
Hospital attendant	Junior inspector
Assistant supervisor	Dump helper
Record clerk	Truck driver
Junior clerk	Registry helper
Assistant house agent	Assistant foreman
	Stenographer
	Requisition clerk

Gardener	Notice server
Exterminator	and clerk

Included in the budget for 1942 were thirty-four salary rates ranging from $560 to $2,590 for these titles.

The 1943 standard title "clerk" covers sixty-five 1942 budget titles and thirty varying rates of compensation from $1,010 to $3,315 per year. Some idea of the confusion which prevailed is gathered from the following partial list of 1942 titles of positions whose incumbents performed work of the "clerk" grade.

Laboratory assistant	Laborer
Investigator	Maintenance patrolman
Stenographer	Wagon driver
Patrolman	Dump helper
Captain	Inspector
Lieutenant	Cleaner
Hoseman	Head nurse
Traffic laborer	Guard
Electrical helper	Messenger

Status of Individuals

As a result of the drastic changes in titles, legal questions were raised as to what civil service status each employee possessed after reclassification.

An illustration of the complexity of the problem is evident when a "laborer" is reclassified as a "clerk." Under the enabling provisions of the city charter, unskilled labor had been employed in the "labor class." To enter this class under the present rules of the Commission a person files an application and is given only a physical examination.

On the other hand, applicants for the position of "clerk" normally must take a competitive examination, secure civil service tenure, and possess certain rights relative to promotion, reinstatement, and discharge.

The complexity of the problem of reclassification is evidenced by the fact that over eight hundred persons in the labor class were given competitive titles as a result of the survey. The matter was ironed out legally and equitably, however, with the advice of the city attorneys.

Once the survey was complete the Civil Service Commission went to work settling individual problems. In connection with employee status, the Commission was advised that it had the necessary legal authority to change titles in the interest of classification and promotion. Article XIX, Section 17, of the Philadelphia City Charter, which relates to the duties of the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission, provides as follows:

> The Commission shall classify and grade all positions in the classified service. The Commission shall ascertain and record the duties of each position in the service, and wherever it appears that two or more positions in the service have duties which are substantially similar in respect to the authority, responsibility, and character of work required in the performance thereof, they shall be placed in the same grade which the Commission shall designate by a title indicative of such duties. Grades having duties of the same general nature and in the same line of promotion shall be placed in the same class and the lines of promotion definitely specified. For each grade the Commission shall determine a standard maximum and minimum salary or rate of pay, and shall report the same to the Mayor and Council, together with other information pertaining to a proper rate of pay for personal services of incumbents of positions in the civil service.

With the power to classify made clear, titles were changed in accord-

ance with proper duties. In addition City Council passed an ordinance on May 1, 1943, which provided that:

> No employee of the city of Philadelphia employed in any department or bureau under civil service shall, by virtue of any title change in the 1943 budget to conform with duties being performed, be required to take an examination to hold such position, nor shall he be deemed to have received any civil service status other than that for which he shall have qualified either by examination or by some official action of the Commission.

In other words, the "laborer" made "clerk" shall not during incumbency receive full "competitive" rights, but his successor shall be appointed from an appropriate eligible list. This does not bar the present incumbent from receiving the new standardized salary for his grade of position, regardless of his original civil service status.

The present efforts of the Civil Service Commission are directed to the goal of "equal pay for equal work." Coöperation among all the civic agencies is the keynote of this admirable effort. The Commission has "borrowed" as its consultant on classification a member of the Pennsylvania Economy League's research staff. A classification unit has been set up in the Commission which is now undertaking a final evaluation of salaries and wages in line with equity and standardization.

The chief examiner of the Civil Service Commission is advertising examinations based upon the specifications set up in the new classification report. Emphasis is now being placed on promotional examinations.

All of this teamwork gains impetus from time to time by the renewed stimulation of employee groups in the city service. Personnel policies are much improved and city employment has become more attractive.

LEGISLATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

(Continued from Page 366)

uniform acts and North Dakota, eight. The Simultaneous Death Act alone was adopted by thirteen legislatures in 1943.

In recent "legislative years"—the odd-numbered years—the lawmakers have considered an average of about 60,000 laws and have adopted about 20,000 of them. Nineteen forty-three may prove to be an exception when all the information is available. The Colorado legislature, for example, enacted 201 laws as compared with 303 in 1941, while in Michigan the bills submitted totaled 726 in 1943 as against 1,058 in 1941. In other cases, however, the totals for the two years appear to be about the same. Bills enacted in Maryland were 948 in 1943 and 951 in 1941, while Maine enactments amounted to 520 in 1943 and 544 in 1941.

In so far as length of sessions has been concerned, there has been a decided effort on the part of the lawmakers to dispose of their business as expeditiously as possible. The Michigan session was the shortest since the turn of the century, while in twelve other states the 1943 sessions were at least a calendar week shorter than the comparable meetings in 1941. Though faced with many new situations—particularly in connection with postwar problems—the state legislators, on the whole, have set a high standard in handling their business with intelligence and dispatch.

Oregon Educates Its Voters

Official publicity pamphlet, reaching all voters prior to primary and general elections, has performed real public service in providing information on candidates and issues.

By WILLIAM L. JOSSLIN
Portland, Oregon

TO EDUCATE the voter—to supply him with a knowledge of the facts and issues at stake in any election—is a vital function of democratic government.

One of the means which has developed to fill this urgent need is the voters' pamphlet. Such pamphlets have come from two sources: voters' leagues and other private organizations and the government. The first source is a limited one, depending on private subscriptions and donations and reaching only a small fraction of the electorate.

The publication of official voters' bulletins, to be sent by the government to each voter, is the next and logical step. These publicity pamphlets, as they are sometimes called, usually cover two important matters:

(1) the measures pamphlet presents the text of initiative and referendum measures and constitutional amendments with arguments pro and con; (2) the candidates' pamphlet contains portraits, platforms, and information concerning candidates in primary and general elections. Both were first adopted by the state of Oregon, the pioneer in this as in many other political fields.

The Measures Pamphlet

Oregon, in 1907, first enacted laws providing for measures pamphlets. Today seven other states also publish and distribute such pamphlets to their voters: Arizona, California, Massachusetts, North Dakota, Ohio, Utah, and Washington. Nebraska publishes the text of measures and arguments thereon in newspapers.[1]

The Oregon provisions are especially worthy of note. At least thirty-five days before a regular general election or thirty days before any special election at which any measure or constitutional amendment is to be submitted to popular vote, the Secretary of State must cause to be printed a true copy of each measure to be voted on, with the number and form of its ballot title.

When the initiative is used those responsible for the measure, but no others, may file with the Secretary of State, for publication, a written argument advocating the measure. This must be done at least ninety days before the regular election at which the measure is to be voted upon. Anyone wishing to oppose the measure may file a written argument for

[1]Arizona Code, 1939, s. 60-107; California, Statutes, 1939, c. 26, ss. 1500-1516; Massachusetts, Const., Amend. 48, Ann. Laws, 1933, vol. X, s. 174, vol. II, c. 54, ss. 53 and 54; North Dakota, Amendments to Constitution, s. 26; Comp. Laws, 1913, ss. 924-927; Ohio, Page's General Code, 1938, s. 4785-180 a-c; Oregon Comp. Laws Anno., ss. 81-2109, 81-2111; Utah Rev. Stats., 1933, s. 25-10-18; Washington, Remington's Rev. Stats., ss. 5422-25; Nebraska, Comp. Stats., 1929, s. 32-1910.

publication at least seventy-five days before such election.

For measures submitted by the legislature, or by referendum petition, arguments for publication may be filed by anyone within the time period designated for initiative measures; or in case of a special election, sixty days before. The Secretary of State then collects and compiles all measures with the arguments pro and con, prints them in a pamphlet six by nine inches, and, at least fifteen days before the regular general election or ten days before a special election, mails a copy to every registered voter.

The cost of printing, binding and distributing the measures, and of binding and distributing the arguments, is borne by the state. But those offering such arguments are required to pay to the Secretary of State sufficient money to cover expenses for paper and printing them.

The California Pamphlet

A second type of measures pamphlet is that published by California since 1909. The California law attempts to insure that arguments on each side of every referred measure will be published, together with the text of the measures; provision is made for preparation of arguments, pro and con, by members of the legislature or other responsible persons. The entire cost of the pamphlet is borne by the state. Massachusetts, Ohio, and Washington likewise make no charge.

At the November 5, 1940, general election, California voted on seventeen measures. Nine of them had arguments on both sides presented in the measures pamphlet, the other eight recommendations favoring enactment only.

The Oregon measures pamphlet had arguments on both sides for only one of the nine measures submitted at the same election; two measures had no arguments at all, five had only arguments favoring enactment, and one had only arguments opposing enactment. In 1942 only two of seven measures had arguments on both sides; four had only affirmative arguments, and one had none.

Authorities seem to be agreed that the California system is the better. As stated by Professor A. N. Holcombe of Harvard University: "A comparison of the California and Oregon pamphlets shows that the arguments and information laid before the voters in the former state are more complete and more adequate than in the latter, and the California pamphlet is presumably a more effective aid to the voter."[2]

If, however, the feeling is so unanimous, or the indifference so great, that only one side is presented, why should one artificially attempt to work up the opposite side solely for the purpose of having one, and with the danger of confusing the voter as to the real situation? In the case of more or less routine measures, the people are inclined to accept the action of the legislature, and there is no reason why they should not do so. But, in any matters vitally affecting the state or certain powerful groups in it, we may be sure that,

[2] *State Government in the United States*, 1919, page 422.

under the Oregon plan, those most interested may be relied upon to ably present both sides of the issue.

Payments by citizens for space for arguments in the Oregon measures pamphlet amounted in 1936 to $2300; in 1938 to $1820; in 1940 to $900; and in 1942 to $1400. Admittedly, these payments represent only a small fraction of the total cost.

Both the Oregon and Washington laws authorize the Secretary of State to refuse any arguments which, in his opinion, contain "any obscene, vulgar, profane, scandalous, libelous or defamatory matter, or . . . any language which in any way incites, counsels, promotes or advocates hatred, abuse, violence or hostility toward, or which tends to cast ridicule or shame upon any person or group or groups of persons by reason of race, color, religion or manner of worship, or any language or matter, the circulation of which through the mails is prohibited by Congress."

An appeal to a board of review, consisting of the Governor, Attorney-General, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction, is authorized, and it is provided that the decision of a majority of such board shall be final.[3] To date, no case of such exclusion has arisen under either law. Apparently, the mere existence of the law is sufficient to discourage the presentation of improper arguments.

In 1941 the Ohio legislature enacted a law requiring the Secretary of State, upon receipt of a verified copy of a proposed state law or constitutional amendment proposing the levy of any tax or necessitating the expenditure of public funds, to secure from the tax commissioner an estimate of any proposed annual expenditure of funds and the annual yield of any proposed taxes, and to distribute copies thereof with the prescribed publicity pamphlets.[4]

The Oregon law authorizes measures pamphlets in cities and towns. This provision has rarely, if ever, been used.

The authorities seem to be agreed that measures pamphlets are of great value. A letter from the Secretary of State of California advises: "While it is impossible to ascertain how extensively they [measures pamphlets] are read, we do know they are in great demand by clubs and various organizations for analyzing and discussion of the proposed measures. . . . Perhaps our proposition pamphlet would prove of little value to the average voter if it were not for the fact that the pamphlets contain arguments for and against the proposed measures. We believe the arguments are read to a greater extent than the text of the proposals for arriving at a conclusion."

Effectiveness of Pamphlet

The effectiveness of the measures pamphlet is in inverse ratio to the burden placed upon it. The more measures the voters are required to study, the less wise and accurate are their decisions. In commenting on the vote on twenty measures in the California general election of November 1920, Professor Thomas H. Reed concludes: "On the whole, the task

[3]Oregon Laws, 1941, Chapter 409; Remington's Revised Statutes of Washington, Section 5422.

[4]Ohio Statutes of 1941, Section 216.

required of the people was an impossible one. The pamphlet sent to the voters to acquaint them with the texts of the measures and the arguments pro and con was a slight thing of 80,000 words. There was a good deal of agitation on some questions. The newspapers published strange and conflicting suggestions for voters. When all is said and done most electors voted blindly on all but two or three questions. They doubtless acted on advice, but advice so conflicting as to largely neutralize itself. The long ballot of propositions is no less fatal than the long ballot of officers."[5] When such a burden as this is placed upon the measures pamphlet, it becomes practically useless.

The Candidates' Pamphlet

Oregon and North Dakota are the only states now publishing candidates' pamphlets. This pamphlet, growing out of the measures pamphlet, was first adopted by Oregon in 1908. It spread to other states, but in none of them except North Dakota has it taken root as a permanent institution. The North Dakota pamphlet is limited to primary elections in which a measure is submitted to the people.

Montana adopted the candidates' pamphlet in 1909, but repealed the law in 1919. Wyoming enacted it into law in 1911 but in 1919 repealed the provision. A Colorado act of 1913, subject to the repeal of a constitutional provision in conflict with it, provided for official candidates' pamphlets, but the state constitution was never amended and no pamphlets were ever issued. The primary law of 1918 in South Dakota also made provision for candidates' pamphlets, but the law was repealed in 1921. Florida and North Dakota enacted similar laws in 1913, but the Florida law was repealed in 1935.

The Oregon law provides for candidates' pamphlets for both primary and general elections. Before every primary the Secretary of State prepares a candidates' pamphlet for each party in which candidates, or friends of candidates, for nomination to state or district offices, when the district is composed of one or more counties, may publish a statement of principles, reasons for election, and portrait cuts. Each candidate buying space is required to pay for at least one page, but may not purchase more than four. All data must be filed with the Secretary of State at least forty-five days before the primary election. Within the same time limit anyone may file with the Secretary of State a signed statement opposing a candidate's election. This must be accompanied by proof —affidavit or sheriff's return—that an exact copy of the statement has been served upon the candidate in person. The opposing statement immediately follows that advocating the candidacy. But it is carefully provided: "Nothing in this law shall be deemed to make any such statement or the authors thereof free or exempt from any civil or criminal action or penalty because of any false, slanderous or libelous state-

[5] "Popular Legislation in California," *American Political Science Review*, August 1921, page 390.

ments offered for printing or contained in said pamphlet. The person or persons procuring, making, composing or offering such statement for filing shall be deemed the authors and publishers thereof." The Secretary of State, at least ten days before the primary, mails a copy of the pamphlet to each registered voter according to his party designation.

Not later than the thirty-seventh day before a regular general election, the state executive committee or officers of a party having nominated candidates (but no others except independent candidates), may file with the Secretary of State portrait cuts and statements favoring the election of its candidates and attacking the principles and candidates of any other party. In practice statements are usually prepared by the candidates themselves.

No party may have more than twenty-four pages, nor an independent candidate more than two pages in the pamphlet, which is mailed to all registered voters at least nine days before the general election.

The following is a table of charges to candidates for nomination, for one page of space in the party primary bulletin:

> $100 for president or vice-president of the United States, United States senator or representative, governor, secretary of state, state treasurer;
>
> $75 for justices of the supreme court, attorney-general, state superintendent of public instruction;
>
> $50 for delegate to a party convention, presidential elector, inspector of factories and workshops, commissioner of labor statistics, circuit judge, district attorney.
>
> $25 for candidates for any other office in the state or in any district of one or more counties;
>
> $10 for senator or representative in the legislative assembly.

Additional space is charged for at the rate of $100 per page, but no single candidate may have more than three additional pages. Anyone opposing the nomination of a candidate may have space on the same terms as that candidate.

In the candidates' pamphlet for the general election parties and independent candidates are allowed space at the rate of $50 per page, with a maximum of twenty-four pages for any party and of two pages for any independent candidate. In 1939 it was provided that space for legislative candidates selected by the parties at the preceding primary shall be $10 per page, which space is in addition to the twenty-four pages allotted to the parties.[6]

In 1941 this space was limited to one page for each legislative candidate. A maximum of four pages is allotted to each party nominee for president and vice-president, for which no charge is made.

It is customary to combine the measures pamphlet and the general election candidates' pamphlet in one bulletin.

In the Republican candidates' pamphlet for May 1940, a certain candidate, seeking the nomination for Congress in the first district, bitterly denounced the Jewish people. His statement was accompanied by a picture of the candidate wearing what appeared to be a silver shirt

[6]This reduction in cost resulted in 108 candidates out of a total of 213 taking space in the pamphlet issued prior to the November 1940 election, an increase over former years.

uniform. The Secretary of State was powerless to exclude this and it was reprinted and sent all over the country as an extract from the official voters' pamphlet published by the state of Oregon.

No Intolerance Permitted

The 1941 Oregon legislature met the situation by enacting laws requiring the Secretary of State to refuse publication in either the primary or general election pamphlets of "any statement or other matter favoring or opposing any candidate . . . which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, contains any obscene, vulgar, profane, scandalous, libelous or defamatory matter, or contains any language which in any way incites, counsels, promotes or advocates hatred, abuse, violence or hostility toward, or which tends to cast ridicule or shame upon any person or group or groups of persons by reason of race, color, religion or manner of worship, or any language or matter, the circulation of which through the mails is prohibited by Congress." No candidate shall "be entitled to display in such pamphlet any cut showing the uniform or insignia of any organization which advocates or teaches racial or religious intolerance."[7]

In cities of more than ten thousand population, the Oregon law permits both primary and general election publicity pamphlets for candidates to be prepared and issued by the municipality, but the provision has apparently fallen into disuse.

Printing and distributing the candidates' pamphlet to 276,367 registered Republicans and 254,814 registered Democrats in the primary election of May 17, 1940, cost $19,873.99, less $5,265.00 paid by candidates for space, or $14,518.99—2¾ cents per voter. Total cost of the combined measures and candidates' pamphlets sent to 613,428 voters in the general election of November 5, 1940, was $38,793.57, less $900 paid for arguments on measures and $2,320 paid for space for candidates, or a net total of $35,573.57. Cost of the candidates' portion of the pamphlet was 1¼ cents per voter.

In 1925 the writer of this article made a study of Oregon voters' pamphlets. In commenting upon their value the report states: "The human animal is peculiarly susceptible to things coming through the mail and with an official stamp upon them. Although there are no statistics . . . we might be justified in presuming that maybe 50 per cent of the registered voters receiving these pamphlets peruse them. They may be presumed to attract more attention and to exert a greater influence than probably any other single source of electoral publicity. . . .

"The candidates' pamphlets for both primary and general elections also give independent groups or candidates a fair chance to present their case, a chance which is not offered by most newspapers. There is, too, an opportunity to attack and unmask dishonest candidates or parties; to expose inefficiency in public officers coming up for re-election. . . . It thus enables the voter to compare the merits and qualifications of individual candidates and of the candi-

[7]Oregon Laws, 1941, Chapters 245 and 306.

dates of different parties. It stimulates the voter to investigate and to vote, not according to mere party designation, but according to merit.

Suggested Improvements

"A truly effective candidates' pamphlet would eventually force parties to put up only the best men. Even as it now is, the candidates' pamphlet acts as a public searchlight on primary and general elections. . . . The principle—of the state itself furnishing information to the voters—is, we believe, essentially sound; the application of this principle is the problem. . . .

"The fatal weakness of the pamphlets, as at present constituted, is the fact that candidates, or their friends, are able to fill the pamphlets with meaningless oratory, bunkum, and outworn palaver." (It is only fair to state, however, that the use of such "meaningless oratory, bunkum, and outworn palaver" will disclose to discerning voters the lack of qualifications of a candidate using such material.)

On February 14, 1941, a report on the Oregon voters' pamphlets was submitted to the Portland City Club, a leading civic organization, by a committee of which the writer was chairman. This committee was largely responsible for the changes made in the pamphlet laws by the 1941 legislature.

It was the feeling of two members of the committee that either the candidates should be required to pay the entire cost of the candidates' pamphlet or that it should be abolished. It was the conclusion of the four remaining members, however, that the candidates' pamphlet should be retained and that no change should be made in the rates for space.

This difference of opinion was due to disagreement among the members of the committee as to the real purpose of the candidates' pamphlets. One member regarded them as merely another form of publicity to be used by candidates to advance their own political fortunes. But a substantial majority believed that the candidates' pamphlet is an instrument designed to inform the voters and to enable them to make a better selection of public officers. If this last view is correct, then it would seem that the state is justified in making up the deficit in the cost of its publication and distribution and correspondingly should have a right to exercise legitimate control over the material printed.

It would also seem that if a state makes its election machinery available to a candidate for public office, it is justified in requiring every candidate to coöperate by furnishing a portrait cut, simple biography, platform, and other information needed to give the voters an understanding of his qualifications. To require every candidate, except those whose nomination or election is not opposed, to take at least one page in the candidates' pamphlet, would be reasonable.

The voters' pamphlets, particularly the measures pamphlets, have performed a valuable public service in providing information to the voters helpful to them in the performance of their duties.

Treasury Committee Analyzes General Property Tax

Essential to the reorganization of local revenue sources are some fundamental changes in a time honored institution

THIS is the second of a series of three digests containing excerpts from the recent report of the United States Treasury's Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, composed of Luther Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration, Harold M. Groves, of the University of Wisconsin, and Mabel Newcomer, of Vassar College.

The first digest, in the June issue of the REVIEW, included excerpts from Parts I and II of Volume I, the summary edition of the full report which ultimately will be printed in six volumes with supporting data and special studies. Covered in the June issue were the Committee's general position on intergovernmental fiscal relations and its basic recommendation for a Federal-State Fiscal Authority.

This digest reproduces most of Part III of Volume I suggesting "some fundamental changes" in the general property tax, the fiscal foundation of local government.

The third and last of the digests, scheduled for the September issue of the REVIEW, will carry in full the Committee's "Summary of Recommendations in Terms of an Action Program for Each Level of Government."—EDITOR.

III. Independent Sources of Local Revenue

[*General Property Tax*]

It is recommended that major attention be given to a reorganization of the sources of local revenue, particularly city revenue, in such manner as to preserve and restore local autonomy, and to enable local governments to tax their own resources, according to their own discretion, without the development of more overlapping in taxation. This, in our opinion, calls for a bold attack and some fundamental changes in a time-honored institution—the general property tax.

There can be little doubt that local governments, particularly city governments, are "in a bad way" from the fiscal standpoint. The recent depression caught them ill-prepared; many were obligated to borrow heavily to meet current expenses, and the refunding of maturing obligations was common.

Most cities have been living from hand to mouth in the hope that something would turn up. And the attitude of municipal officials has grown increasingly pessimistic.

No doubt much of the blame for these predicaments can be placed at the door of the states in whose legislative councils cities have for years been under-represented. Cities have often shared very inadequately in newly developed state revenues, particularly in motor-vehicle tax revenues. More important, the states have undermined and strait-jacketed general property tax expansion, both with exemptions and with ceiling limitations.

The cities in some instances have their own mismanagement to blame

for part of their financial troubles. But the generally rising competence of officials in posts of municipal responsibility has been one of the bright spots in the recent evolution of American government. It may well be that "the best managed of our cities are ahead of the federal government in the quality of their administration."

Other Revenues Collected

The cities have claimed the privilege, and some have found it possible, to develop some diversification of revenues. And so we find, for example, municipal sales taxes in New York and New Orleans; a flat earned income tax in Philadelphia; a license tax based on volume of business in Louisville and Richmond; a one-cent gasoline, one-cent bottle beer, and two-cent cigarette tax in Birmingham; and gasoline, automobile-license, and cigarette taxes in Kansas City. But these developments involve piling taxes three deep in a number of cases, and they represent at best additional complications in a revenue system already highly complicated.

A major cause of the failure of municipal revenues on the score of inadequacy is the unpopular general property tax. Although this tax proved the mainstay of local support for many years, it broke down badly during the recent depression and is under incessant political attack by state and local leaders. Beside many traditional faults, which need not be recapitulated here, the property tax, like the income tax, is attacked because its base is too narrow. The property-owning lower middle class resent what they regard as the tax-free status of the "proletariat." This attack gains strength because of the traditional interest in widespread home ownership. Finally, the property tax is resented because of its regressivity, the fact that it falls with greatest weight on relatively poor taxpayers.

The narrow jurisdiction of the municipality makes it essential to depend on a relatively immobile tax base for the major part of local revenues, and this points to the continuance of the largest part of the local tax burden on real estate. But there are important possibilities of redistributing this burden among individual owners of real estate and their tenants.

What is needed, apparently, is some new source of local revenue which will (1) not overlap existing federal and state taxes, (2) enable the localities to tap their own resources without running hat in hand to central governments, (3) cover all or a vast majority of the interested citizenry, and (4) not be regressive. This is no easy assignment but the following suggestions are recommended for consideration.

The property tax might well be broken down into its elements and its uniform application to all owners on the basis of holdings be abandoned. One way of recasting the fragments would contemplate a collection from landlords in the nature of a service charge for local benefits to property, and a further collection, more personal in character, from occupants on their rental value of occupancy. The occupancy tax could be added as either a replacement or a supplement

to the general property tax; and it might be introduced step by step on a gradual and experimental basis.

The property tax has suffered from notoriously weak administration. But the best possible assessment would fail to reach the shortcoming of market value as a measure of taxpaying ability. It may be conceded that the owner of real estate producing no current income has some taxpaying ability. But it may still prove awkward to obtain the necessary cash for tax payments; and more important, the expected future income on which the market value is based may never be realized.

Rental Tax

In view of these limitations a good case can be made for shifting a part of the burden from real estate to current income, that is, the gross rental value of occupied premises. It may not be desirable to reduce current levies, in view of the fact that these may be partly capitalized, and that there is no certainty that the owner would reduce rentals to his tenants if such a change were made. But where there is need for more municipal revenue, a city might well give consideration to a tax on rentals, collected from the occupier.

One advantage of such a tax is that, being in proportion to current income rather than expected future income, it will spread the burden over the various parcels of real estate in a different manner from the tax on capital values. Unused properties would be exempt. Also, the distribution between tenants and landlords would vary, since there is always some friction in the process of shifting.

Finally, a rental tax could make some allowances for individual ability to pay. The tax on home rentals might be adjusted to take account of size of family, and a progressive rate might be imposed. This would tend to offset the regressive tax on capital values. A business rental tax would be levied, of course, at a flat rate.

Among the objections to a supplementary rental value tax would be the necessity for two valuations—rental value as well as capital value. This is not a simple problem, since many properties are occupied by their owners, and in other cases the actual rent paid must be adjusted to allow for special circumstances.

There are other objections to a rental tax. For instance it would offer no answer—except in its possible feature of graduation—to the criticism that much of the weight of the local tax system falls on housing, an area of expenditure in which the nation is trying to improve standards. Some concessions to housing, probably confined to the philanthropic element in housing, may be necessary. It is quite possible, too, that an occupancy tax might increase the cyclical fluctuations in city revenues. Nevertheless, the frequency with which such taxes have been used by other countries suggests that they have possibilities that may well be explored.

Other ways of reaching the property base are the use of unearned increment taxes and the further development of special assessments. The latter have sometimes been used to excess, and the record of administration is not encouraging, but many cities have failed to develop their

possibilities adequately. Many municipal services yield special benefits, and the cost might reasonably be covered in this way. Some municipalities could revise their public utility charges, also, to cover costs, or even to contribute to the general treasury.

While the retail sales tax as a local revenue source is quite objectionable because of its overlapping of central sources, its regressivity and its jurisdictional complications, nevertheless it may be worth considering as a last resort. Exemption of food might reduce regressivity and some city might test the practicability of a personal exemption under this form of tax. As against the steady and extensive surrender of local fiscal independence, the city sales tax might merit further consideration.

Cities Need Freedom to Tax

In any event, the municipality should be given greater freedom in the application of the general property tax. Rate limitations offer no constructive solution to the problem of financing local government or improving the property tax. Their proponents are indifferent to fiscal crises and counsel a resort to any action other than an immediate increase in real estate taxes. The right of the cities to tax their own citizens as they please within the property tax area, primarily suited for local exploitation, should be generally restored, subject only to rules supplied by the state as to the general framework. Administrative assistance from the central units need not be precluded by such a development.

Property tax exemptions have been too freely granted and too generously interpreted. Effective state supervision of property tax administration, or state assessment if such central assistance cannot be developed, is needed to offset the pressure of special local interests.

The widely prevailing notion that the general property tax, except for new exemptions and rate limitations, is a crystallized institution and fixed for all time should be exploded. Whether or not these specific proposals are received with favor the whole subject of independent local revenues should be given fresh and bold reconsideration.

The federal government is in the best strategic position to cope with cyclical emergencies and should, even with a strengthening of local financial independence, continue to finance employment-creating improvements during such periods. Moreover, as subsequently elaborated, the federal government should enlarge the number of functions in which, because of a national interest, federal support is given through grants-in-aid. Federal payments in lieu of property taxes on federally-owned property, such as housing, should be more generous and dependable. A federal market for municipal bonds might be helpful in time of depression, but the major need is for a source of revenue which will enable the localities to tax their own resources independently. Much of the vitality of local government in the United States depends upon the development (discovery and utilization) of such a source.

(Continued on Page 389)

Letter to the Editor

A Few Warnings on Private Enterprise Housing Plan

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

All who are concerned with ridding our cities of blight and slums must join with Paul Windels in acclaiming, as he does in your June issue, the entry of quasi-public reservoirs of capital into this neglected area of service. But many will question seriously the kind of project into which the greatest of these reservoirs—the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company—wants to pipe some $50,000,000 of its funds for its first urban redevelopment venture.

The success of such a project in Mr. Windels' opinion—and in mine—will depend, in part, on how three requirements are met. But how far these criteria are from being met in "Stuyvesant Town" is not made clear in your June article. Let us consider them briefly:

"(1) Community facilities to provide a genuine, well rounded, wholesome community life."

Although Stuyvesant Town is to provide apartments for 8,842 families, there is no provision for even a single school, church, or community meeting place in the entire project.

"(2) A basic plan with provision for limited land coverage, which will be protected against the possibility of future fundamental change without the consent of the City Planning Commission."

The proposed contract between the Metropolitan Life and the City of New York embodies this protection—but for only twenty-five years.

"(3) Protection against undue concentration of population in the area by the use of high buildings even though the land coverage is kept small."

This protection is wholly lacking in the Stuyvesant Town project. A population of more than 24,000 persons is to be crowded onto sixty-one acres of land, in thirty-five apartment houses—all of them thirteen stories in height, except for a few ten-story wings. Excluding street, driveway, and non-residential areas, these buildings will occupy 37.7 per cent of the total project area and the population density will be 594 per net acre as thus figured. Surely this is "undue concentration of population."

Reports on the Stuyvesant Town proposals by the Citizens' Housing Council of New York and other civic organizations have emphasized the foregoing and other reasons for urging reconsideration before the final freezing of the plans and contract. It has been pointed out, for example, that this project would be literally a company-owned walled town without a single square foot of public property within its boundaries. The entire periphery of the area, except for two entrances on each of the four sides, would be occupied by tall buildings interspersed with one-story garages; each of the eight entrances would carry a sign "giving notice to the public that such streets, within the area are private streets." This means that the Stuyvesant Town Corporation could not only discriminate because of race, creed, or color in selecting its tenants, but could actually refuse entrance into the project area, should it so desire, for similar reasons.

Another serious objection to building Stuyvesant Town as planned is that even the youngest school children would have to cross the peripheral traffic streets to get to school—this notwithstanding the policy of the state, as set forth in the law under which this project would be built, "that modern standards of urban life require that housing be related to adequate and convenient public facilities."

These do not exhaust the list of criticisms that have been voiced of the Stuyvesant Town plans, some of which might not arise in the case of a project receiving no substantial public aid.

But here we have a project which the City of New York proposes to endow with eminent domain, twenty-five-year tax limitation, and gift of city-owned street areas. "To none of these benefits"—to quote a statement submitted to the Board of Estimate on June 3—"would the Citizens' Housing Council object if balanced by adequate public benefits. We believe that such balance can be achieved, and that it would be a serious mistake, at this early stage of a postwar project, to assume inflexibility of financial arrangements, site plans, population densities, and exclusion of a school site from the project area."

A point should be mentioned that needs safeguarding in other states which may consider using New York's Redevelopment Companies Law as a model—which it surely is not—for similar legislation. Mr. Windels' article in the June NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW states that: "During the twenty-five-year period of partial tax exemption the company may not take out of the project any more than operating costs and 6 per cent a year to cover interest and amortization." And he adds: "All other income goes to the city."

That seems to have been the intent of the legislature, but neither in the law itself nor in the proposed contract with the city is this last-quoted provision embodied. The company cannot *pay out* during the tax-exemption period more than 6 per cent on the cost of the project, but there is no prohibition against accumulating a substantial reserve which would not be paid to the city but which the company could ultimately add to future profits and distribute in unlimited earnings on its tiny equity. Doubtless the Metropolitan Life would not profiteer in this way; but a precedent would be established that might lead to serious abuses in less scrupulous hands.

Redevelopment projects ought, of course, to earn an adequate return on the investment of private or quasi-public funds. But the laws controlling such investment ought not to be so obscurely worded as to confuse.

Whether Stuyvesant Town will be built exactly as approved by an 11-5 vote of the Board of Estimate at its June 3 meeting, will depend in part on the result of court action now pending. It will depend, too, on the wisdom of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in so modifying its plans and policies as to make Stuyvesant Town what it might become—a fine precedent for future emulation by quasi-public reservoirs of capital in helping our cities to solve one of their greatest problems—the rational rebuilding of slums and blighted areas.

HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM, Editor
The American City
New York

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Contributors in Review

LONG intrigued by governmental affairs **William L. Josslin** (*Oregon Educates Its Voters*) has taken a special interest in his state's "publicity pamphlet." He prepared a six-thousand-word report on the subject during his student days at Stanford University which served as the basis for a 1941 study on the subject by a committee of the Portland City Club, of which he was chairman. Mr. Josslin, a Portland attorney, has served as deputy district attorney of Multnomah County, assistant state counsel of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, and for four years was private secretary and legal advisor to Oregon's Governor Charles H. Martin. Last year he was elected secretary of the Oregon Democratic State Central Committee.

ANOTHER citizen who has devoted much time to the improvement of his government is **Herbert C. Morris** (*Youth Builds Today for a Better Tomorrow*). Mr. Morris is vice-chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, an organization long actively working for civic betterment in the "City of Brotherly Love." In that capacity he has charge of civic education for adults and students.

ON LEAVE from the Pennsylvania Economy League to act as consultant on job classification for the Philadelphia Civil Service Commission, **Edward B. Shils** (*Philadelphia Streamlines Personnel Plan*) is well qualified to write on his city's recent accomplishments in reorganizing its civil service. Mr. Shils, who received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, has done research work for the Institute of Local and State Government of that University, the Mayor's Advisory Finance Commission of Philadelphia, as well as the Economy League. He has published several articles on his studies and is author of *Finances and Financial Administration of the School District of Philadelphia.*

WITH the Council of State Governments as his vantage point, **Herbert Wiltsee** (*State Legislative Highlights—1943*), director of research and publications of that organization and editor of its *State Government,* is well qualified to report on what the legislatures have done during their recent sessions. Mr. Wiltsee was formerly research assistant for the University of Chicago Social Science Research Council and instructor in political science and history at Alma College. He has been with the Council of State Governments since 1942.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Researcher's Digest: July

Fire protection in the Los Angeles area; Berkeley considers war nurseries, a state surplus, and postwar planning; paying for New York City public works; what the research bureaus are thinking about.

A FAMILIAR public administration horror story, usually trotted forth for the benefit of young and shockable students, deals with the hospital, church, or other institution which, situated close to the legal limits of some municipality or other, burned to the ground (and maybe a couple of hundred orphans with it) while firemen from the next jurisdiction, their feet firmly planted on their own side of the boundary, stood around and watched.

It is with this situation that James R. Donoghue deals, realistically, seriously and exhaustively, in his *Intergovernmental Coöperation in Fire Protection in the Los Angeles Area,* a product of the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles.**

The Los Angeles area has many times in the past yielded the Bureau unusually fine research data because of the multiplicity of its governmental units, the variety of its population, terrain and economic characteristics, and, above all, because of its sheer size (prewar travelers used to tell of finding Los Angeles city limits signs in Alaska).

Mr. Donoghue dipped once again into this fine laboratory situation and came out with some cheering reports of the increase of coöperation, both formal and informal, among the fire departments of this vast and varied area. These reports are cheering not only because of the aforesaid imaginary institutions but also because of the desperate war-borne need for intergovernmental coöperation, particularly interfire department coöperation. This war, he points out, has been called a fireman's war. Fortunately, in the Los Angeles area, the firemen seem to have the situation well in hand.

Mr. Donoghue has done an admirable job, both from the research and literary standpoints. He has every reason to be proud of his terminal civilian production.

To the Ladies

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley) has, as it were, one foot in wartime problems, another foot in postwar problems, and both arms around governmental problems of purely non-military significance. The three latest of its attractive publications deal with *Wartime Nurseries, The General Fund Surplus Problem in California,* and *State Organization for Postwar Planning,* respectively, thus illustrating the lead thesis of this marginal comment. All are of a series intended for the further information of California's legislators and, after the manner of legislative councils, there are no recommendations to cloud the lawmakers' judgment. Incidentally, the authorship of these items is all-female—Winifred Cobbledick did the first mentioned, and Dorothy C. Tompkins did the latter two. The ladies have acquitted themselves brilliantly.

The *Nurseries* production is a summary of the measures other states have taken to care for those wartime waifs, the children of working mothers—California is sore beset by this question at the moment. The *Surplus* study deals with the serious problem of what to do with all the extra money piled up at present in the state treasury, a condition more or less epidemic in other states now that so much loose cash is

floating around in citizens' pockets. The *Planning* work describes what organizations other states have set up for post-war planning. As ever, all these studies have a distinct general value not at all limited to the state of California.

Money for a Master Plan

There might be said to be two kinds of civic minds: the kind that thinks only about what the city ought to buy for its citizens, and the kind that worries all the time about how the city is going to pay for what it buys. Rare indeed is that civic sophisticate who considers both questions and is able to arrive at a comfortable reconciliation. *New York City's Debt and Future Capital Outlays* represents just such a reconciliation.

Aided and abetted by Richard S. Childs, who prepared the volume's foreword, Herbert S. Swan has written, and the **Institute of Public Administration** has published, an exhaustive, informed, and broadminded treatise on whether, and how, the City of New York is to pay for the public improvements represented by the Master Plan which the city has laid away in its portfolio against the day when the population shall have reached its estimated maximum of eight and a half millions. Carefully calculated in much detail is the tax and credit structure of the metropolis, and against it are laid the transit facilities, parks, schools, thoroughfares, docks, water supply, hospitals, sewage disposal plants, incinerators, and miscellaneous buildings which the city planners deem necessary for the Little Old New York of 1960. The conclusion is that these things can be paid for—if the Master Plan is followed. The important moral of the work, however, is that public works can and should be planned, and that paying for them is likewise a matter of planning.

This and That

The governmental research potpourri for this month includes more grist for the proportional representation mill—*The Congressional District System in Indiana*, by Louis E. Lambert, published by the **Institute of Politics of Indiana University**; an invaluable book of charts, maps, and tables representing *Statistical Data Regarding the Population, Area and Finances of the City of Rochester*, compiled by the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research**; a detailed study of the *Salary Rates of Officials in 177 Oregon Cities* compiled by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon** for the purpose of throwing light on the current municipal problem of whether or not to grant salary increases; and three descriptive monographs by C. A. Bratton of the **Department of Agricultural Economics of the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University,** on *Governmental Purchasing, Elections in New York State,* and *Public Health Administration* (with F. A. Coffey).

Be it not forgotten, of course, that in addition to the physically more substantial works discussed here from month to month, the regular periodic bulletins, leaflets, and pamphlets of the research bureaus continue their course, dispensing governmental intelligence to the subscribers.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Bar Associations

A Study of Bar Organization in South Dakota. By Allen G. Wilson. Vermillion, Governmental Research Bureau, University of South Dakota, April 1943. 57 pp.

Elections

The Congressional District System in Indiana. By Louis E. Lambert. Bloomington, Institute of Politics, Indiana University, April 1943. 9 pp.

Elections in New York State. By C. A. Bratton. Ithaca, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, April 1943. 22 pp.

Finance

The General Fund Surplus Problem in California. By Dorothy C. Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, March 1943. 21 pp.

New York City's Debt and Future Capital Outlays. By Herbert S. Swan. New York City, Institute of Public Administration, 1943. 51 pp.

Fire

Intergovernmental Coöperation in Fire Protection in the Los Angeles Area. By James R. Donoghue. Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, May 1943. 126 pp.

Municipal Statistics

Statistical Data Regarding the Population, Area, and Finances of the City of Rochester. Rochester, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, March 1943. 24 pp.

Planning

State Organization for Postwar Planning. By Dorothy C. Tomkins. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, April 1943. 16 pp.

Public Health

Public Health Administration in New York. By F. A. Coffey and C. A. Bratton. Ithaca, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, April 1943. 25 pp.

Public Welfare

Wartime Nurseries. By Winifred Cobbledick. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, February 1943. 44 pp.

Purchasing

Governmental Purchasing. By C. A. Bratton. Ithaca, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, April 1943. 9 pp.

Salaries

Salary Rates of Officials in 177 Oregon Cities. Eugene, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, May 1943. 27 pp.

GENERAL PROPERY TAX

(Continued from Page 383)

[Volume I also analyzes in some detail the following problems:]

IV. Coördination of Specific Taxes
Income taxes, death taxes, tobacco taxes, liquor taxes, gasoline and motor vehicle use taxes, retail sales taxes, business taxes, stock transfer taxes, payroll taxes.

V. Tax Immunities
Payments in lieu of taxes, state and local taxation of government contracts, tax-exempt securities.

VI. Expenditures, Functions, and Aids
Reallocation of functions and powers, federal grants-in-aid and national minima, expenditures for education.

VII. Fiscal Policy
Fiscal policy and public investment, fiscal policy and the tax system.

VIII. Cost of Administration and Compliance
Administration and cost of compliance.

IX. Problems of Interstate Relations
Multiple taxation, other problems of interstate relations.

X. Miscellaneous Problems
Community property, impact of the war, governmental reporting.

On the Local Front

Prepared by Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency
Charles P. Taft, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

Public Health and the War

AN all-time low national death rate of 10.3 per 1,000 population in 1942 was reported by Surgeon General Thomas Parran, U. S. Public Health Service, in a recent statement before a Congressional committee.

The Surgeon General's report covered the health of the nation in the first year of war as well as the far-flung activities of the PHS on the global health front.

"The health of the nation remained good during 1942," Dr. Parran said, citing the thirteenth consecutive annual decline in maternal mortality and a reduction in infant deaths.

The nation was spared major epidemics in 1942, although meningococcus meningitis (cerebrospinal fever) and typhus increased, and a new contagious eye infection occurred among industrial war workers. The epidemic of meningococcus meningitis continued into 1943, nearly 10,000 cases having been reported by May 22 of this year. Recalling the post-World War epidemics of typhus in Europe, Dr. Parran said that the PHS has acted to prevent such an occurrence in this country.

Although reports from enemy-occupied countries have been incomplete since 1939, typhus fever is known to have been epidemic in North Africa, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Spain, and Turkey.

To protect the nation from the importation of plague by rat colonies from war areas, all ships touching our ports are thoroughly inspected. A similar inspection is made before new merchant ships constructed under the war program are launched to determine whether PHS rat-proofing specifications have been met.

The National Institute of Health, research arm of the Service, has developed a vaccine for the prevention of typhus fever which is believed the most effective of any so far discovered. Experiments in the production of lice repellents are also encouraging.

In May 1942 an Office of Typhus Fever Control was established with headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia, to assist threatened communities in fighting the disease. Rat harborages are surveyed, buildings rat-proofed, and rats destroyed. The Public Health Service also assists the Army in rodent control of military establishments.

"There is a very real possibility," the Surgeon General warned, "that exotic diseases unknown in this country may be introduced by returning troops." The increased speed of travel, it was revealed, makes it possible for a person to contract any of the quarantinable or tropical diseases and reach the United States before the condition would have become manifest. For this reason airplane passengers from distant points are examined by Public Health Service officers. Those arriving from areas where yellow fever may be present are kept under surveillance until the incubation period has expired. All planes are insecticized before and after arrival in this country.

PHS also has been supplying all the needs of the Army for yellow fever vaccine to immunize the troops. At the request of the Navy, the Service controls the breeding of the mosquito which transmits dengue and yellow

fever at Key West, Florida, in Texas, and South Carolina.

Despite the threat of epidemic diseases to the war effort, their prompt control constitutes but a small part of the wartime tasks of the Public Health Service. According to the Surgeon General, 90 per cent of PHS resources, in manpower, material, and money, have been channeled into direct war work. Among the important wartime programs are those concerned with the control of malaria, venereal disease, and tuberculosis.

Malaria Control

Primary responsibility for the control of malaria in all areas adjacent to naval and military establishments, noted Dr. Parran, rests with the Public Health Service. In malarious areas, a zone essentially free of malaria mosquitoes is established around every military camp and every war industry. "It is gratifying to report that, as a result of these control activities, the Army last year experienced the lowest malaria rate in its history."

In the first World War there was a great increase in the venereal diseases, not only among the warring nations but among neutrals as well. In this war, both the United States and Great Britain have already experienced a rising rate. The PHS has coöperated very closely with the military authorities and state and local communities in "v.d." control.

The Surgeon General stated that the number of venereal disease clinics in the country has increased over 300 per cent in the last four years. With funds allotted by the Federal Works Agency, state health departments and the PHS have established twenty-three rapid treatment centers for the cure and rehabilitation of women spreading venereal disease. Sixty more have been proposed for 1943.

Red light districts in more than 300 communities have been closed and the May Act invoked in two areas. An agreement has also been reached with the Mexican authorities for the suppression of prostitution along the International Border.

In anticipation of a wartime rise in tuberculosis, the Public Health Service established an Office of Tuberculosis Control shortly after war began and has already given X-ray examinations to more than a quarter of a million people, including Coast Guard recruits, laborers from Mexico, and more than 160,000 war workers in shipyards, ordnance plants, and other essential establishments. It is planned to extend the program to include the families of war workers and rejectees from the armed forces.

Health of Industrial Workers

The Surgeon General's report calls attention to the tremendous growth in wartime industry and the correspondingly increased need for the expansion of health and sanitation activities in boom areas. Through forty-four state and local industrial hygiene units and PHS staff, direct inspections of war plants are made to insure the health of industrial workers. Important research is constantly going on as to industrial poisons and the potential dangers of new substances prior to their introduction into industry.

Formerly, the Surgeon General also pointed out, our merchant ships had no first aid or sanitation service of any kind. In a joint program with the War Shipping Administration, the PHS has trained hundreds of pharmacists' mates for duty on sea-going merchant vessels.

Another job of the Service has been the psychiatric treatment and rehabilitation for active duty of seamen mentally affected by the strain of enemy attack on their ships.

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News in Review

City, State, and Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

States Authorize Reserves to Aid Postwar Plans

Cities Save to Meet Postwar Problems

SEVEN state legislatures this year gave cities and towns legal authority to build up cash reserve funds for public works construction after the war. This action brings to sixteen the number of states where local government units now have authority to lay money aside for the future, the American Municipal Association reports.

States taking action in 1943 were Arizona, Connecticut, Minnesota, North Carolina, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. States enacting such legislation previously were California, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, and Washington. Three of the latter—Michigan, New Jersey, and Oregon—broadened their previously-enacted statutes this year.

It is also reported that cities of several states, including Wisconsin, have been setting up reserve funds by charter amendment, an action authorized by home rule provisions of the states.

Oregon was the first state to authorize municipalities to build up reserve funds, taking the action in 1931. Reason for the move at the time, a reason which the Association says holds good today, was to help cities out of situations where they would be paying off long-term loans long after the projects for which the money was borrowed had worn out.

Of the sixteen states, California, Connecticut, Minnesota, New York, and Washington have the broadest laws. California cities are authorized by a 1937 law to set up cash reserve funds by ordinance which specifies their use, with no limit on the amount of tax levied for the purpose or the time levies may be imposed.

Connecticut cities and towns, under the new state law, may use surplus money to build up a reserve fund, or they can make special levies up to 2 mills on the dollar. Such funds may be spent only for postwar construction. Under the Minnesota law local governments may levy taxes to support postwar funds, which may not be spent until one year after the end of the war.

The New York act authorizes the local governing body to make levies without limit on time or amount and without election; Washington's law is similar, but requires that the purpose of any proposed levy must be specified in the ordinance making the levy and may be changed only by a majority vote at a general or special election.

In addition to postwar reserve fund measures enacted by the various states this year, two Canadian provinces—Ontario and Quebec—adopted legislation allowing their municipalities to set up cash reserves for the postwar period. Laws of the two provinces, broad in scope, are similar to those of several of the states.

Many states have also established or authorized postwar reserve funds for use by the state governments. Among those setting up such funds this year are Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina and North Dakota.

A recent survey of ninety-two cities by the International City Managers' Association indicated widespread activity in forecasting postwar needs and in providing reserve funds.

All but ten of the ninety-two are

attempting through postwar planning agencies of one type or another to estimate or predict probable postwar conditions with respect to population, employment, public works, and conversion of war industries; most of them have also established or are in the process of setting up postwar reserves to finance reconstruction and development activities when the war is over. Methods of providing reserves include setting aside of surplus cash, investment of surplus funds in war bonds, setting up depreciation accounts to replace equipment, and paying off debt.

Eleven cities over 75,000 reporting to the association have taken definite steps to estimate postwar conditions, with non-governmental groups coöperating in eight of the cities. All eleven have official planning agencies, and two have special postwar committees.

Of the nineteen cities of 25,000 to 75,000 reporting, ten have official planning agencies, while one has an "advisory committee"; four have neither a planning agency nor an individual assigned to the work. Fifteen of the cities have postwar reserve funds.

Of the sixty-two cities of less than 25,000 population surveyed, all but six are making plans for the postwar era. Most of the planning work of these cities relates to public works and expansion of local utilities. Only five of these cities have not taken steps to set up some kind of reserve fund.

Some cities still do not have legal authority to establish such reserves, or, because of tax limits, find it financially impossible to do so.

Congress Votes to Kill Resources Planning Board

The House of Representatives has refused funds for the National Resources Planning Board, beyond $50,000 for dissolution, and seeks to prevent the executive department from carrying on similar broad-gauge planning activities.

Planning State Efforts for Postwar Employment

Discussions by representatives of all forty-eight states attending four recent regional conferences on postwar problems indicate a feeling of obligation to facilitate employment after the war and the need to set up new machinery or adapt existing machinery to assure work for the returning soldiers, the war workers, and young people fresh from school, according to the Council of State Governments.

More than seven hundred delegates, including twenty-three governors, attended the regional conferences in April in Chicago, New York, Atlanta, and San Francisco. Besides their chief executives the states were represented by legislative leaders, members of state war agencies, and commissions on interstate coöperation. Reports by the four conferences form the foundation for a program presented to the Governors' Conference in Columbus, Ohio, June 20-23.

Analysis by the Council of the discussions of the state representatives points to the belief that government has a three-fold duty with respect to the postwar period. First, government must assist efforts of private industry to supply employment for all; second, government must supplement the job-creating efforts of private enterprise through worthwhile public works programs; third, government must develop public facilities and services as needed for improved living standards.

Since state postwar reconstruction and development programs will involve so many different fields of activity, delegates to the four conferences urged coördination of the machinery the states must use in developing and carrying out their programs, each state to have a central postwar agency concerned only with postwar problems, as is already the case in most states.

Such agencies, according to conference recommendations, should:

(1) Conduct studies and investigations relative to social and economic reconstruction and development of the states;

(2) Encourage, guide, and assist postwar preparation within operating departments and agencies of state government;

(3) Facilitate exchange of information among planning agencies of the various levels of government, industry, labor, agriculture, and education to assure exchange of assistance, harmonizing of proposed plans, policies and programs, and to secure proper timing of their execution;

(4) Encourage community self-appraisal programs so problems peculiar to each community may be recognized and met;

(5) Collaborate with business and labor groups in devising ways and means of assisting business concerns in the conversion of war plants, developing new industries, utilizing state resources, readjusting war boom towns to maximum use of their new facilities, and guiding the migration of stranded workers.

Civilian War Training in New York State

New York State, a pioneer in meeting the universal need for organized civilian war training, has undertaken the greatest program of mass education in its history.

The State War Council, recognizing that swift and efficient mass education requires that public employee and civilian war training activities in the state and its subdivisions be placed under central guidance, provides this at the state level through its Office of War Training. At the local level guidance is given through a new mechanism which was born of the present conflict. This is known as the Local War Training Committee.

The State Office of War Training is charged with the following broad functions: To study and report, with recommendations for action, on all training proposals made to the State War Council from any source; to plan and assist in the administration, coördination and supervision of public employee and civilian war training at the state level, and to render instructional assistance at the local level; to act as a clearing house on administration and information for all such activities throughout the state; to determine priorities of training programs; to assist in the development of uniform instructional materials; to assist in the further development and utilization of instructor training methods and materials, and of instructional aids, such as films, slides, charts, and other demonstration materials; and to prepare State War Council and Regents Public Service Training Certificates for issuance to civilians and public employees who successfully complete approved war training programs.

Specific functions suggested for Local War Training Committees include the following, with priority and emphasis in the order of listing:

(1) Serve as a training adviser to the Local War Council,

(2) Study local war training courses offered or proposed,

(3) Develop a library of training materials and aids,

(4) Develop a register of civilian war training classroom facilities,

(5) Establish a panel of local civilian war instructors,

(6) Serve as local representative for the services of the State Office of War Training,

(7) Serve as a local clearing house for training facilities and services of

the Office of Civilian Defense,

(8) Coöperate with local volunteer offices in arranging for New York State War Council Civilian War Training Certificates,

(9) Aid local War Council agencies in developing and maintaining training records,

(10) Assist all local War Council agencies in the continuous in-service training necessary to preserve the skills and morale of volunteer forces engaged in the war effort,

(11) Act as a service unit to all local War Council agencies.

In establishing Local War Training Committees, the New York State War Plans Coördinator suggested that each City and County War Council create a committee composed of at least seven members. The Chairman of the Local War Training Committee is appointed by the Chairman of the Local War Council, and should be, so far as practicable, an individual who has an interest in and knowledge of personnel training problems. It is suggested that the chairman of the Local War Council should appoint at least three other interested and competent persons to membership on the Local War Training Committee. Other suggested members are the local Director of Civilian Protection, local Chairman of Civilian Mobilization, local Chairman of Civilian War Services, and the local Chairman of the Division of Industry, Agriculture and Labor.

The New York State Office of War Training has issued a *Local War Training Committee Handbook*, containing a comprehensive outline of the organization and functions of Local War Training Committees. A limited number of copies are available for distribution among Defense Council officials of other states. Requests should be addressed to the director, New York State Office of War Training, 353 Broadway, Albany, New York.

ALBERT H. HALL, *Director*
New York State Office
of War Training

Minnesota Court Plan Criticized

The plan for unification and modernization of the courts of Minnesota, proposed by a committee of the Judicial Council of that state[1] includes two aspects of such far-reaching implications as to arouse vigorous criticism. Professor William Anderson, of the Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, although approving the unification idea, points out that the committee's proposed constitutional amendment would transfer to the courts practically complete power for making rules of judicial procedure. He says: "To turn over to the judiciary of the state as sweeping a power of rule-making as is proposed in the Minnesota amendment, and to have the rules so made go into effect without the legislature having any power to modify them, is to make the Supreme Court of the state a legislative body equal to the state legislature with respect to some very important matters. The conflicts, frictions, and difficulties that will arise from such a situation are to me entirely obvious.

"The second principal objection that I find to the proposed amendment is the fact that it practically turns the selection of judges over to the organized bar of the state. The amount of control that the voters, the governor, or the legislature will have in the selection of judges is so small that in fact the organized bar will tell the people who are to be the judges in the state

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April 1943, p. 198.

courts, including the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court, in turn, will decide who can be members of the bar. The potentialities in this arrangement for a tight bar association monopoly over an entire branch of the government are again to me very clear, although some lawyers do not see it as I do. The chance for any popular control over the judiciary is practically eliminated by the plan that has been proposed."[1]

New York Reapportionment Act Strikes Snag

The recently enacted reapportionment law[2] under which the State of New York would be redistricted for legislative elections for the first time in nearly twenty-five years, was declared unconstitutional on June 3 by Justice Pierce H. Russell of the Albany County Supreme Court. He held that the act erroneously provided for a Senate of fifty-six members, instead of fifty-three according to his interpretation of the constitutional provision that if a county has three or more senators "at the time of any apportionment" and is entitled to an additional senator because of the apportionment ratio based on a fifty-member Senate, such additional senator shall be in addition to the fifty. The legislature applied the quoted phrase as meaning after the apportionment, while the judge ruled that it referred to the number before the apportionment. The decision will be appealed.

Council-Manager Plan News

The thirtieth annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, September 10 to 14, inclusive. Wartime and postwar problems will be emphasized.

Thomasville, Georgia, adopted the council-manager plan, effective January 1, 1944, by a vote of 530 to 470.

Norway, Maine, has adopted the provisions of the 1939 state enabling act under which it became a manager city May 10.

In **Worcester, Massachusetts,** the League of Women Voters at its annual meeting went on record in favor of adoption of Plan E—the council-manager plan with proportional representation—and pledged itself to join with all other civic-minded citizens in starting a movement for a more effective system of government.

A bill for election at large of all members of the **Hartford, Connecticut,** council has been introduced in the state legislature. Hartford now has fifteen aldermen elected by wards and five elected at large. The bill would assure the minority party of eight aldermen. The *Hartford Courant* editorially commented that partisan politics is out of place in municipal government, suggested letting the governmental structure stand until such time as a competent commission has studied the problem of the city's government and formulated a modern charter, and emphasized that well over five hundred American municipalities have adopted the council-manager plan.

The bill to permit third-class cities of **Pennsylvania** to adopt the manager plan or otherwise change their charters died in committee.

Lehighton, Pennsylvania, on May 3 adopted an ordinance creating borough manager government.

New Bern, North Carolina, recently defeated a proposal to adopt the manager plan, 1,130 to 520.

The **Texas** legislature early in May adopted unanimously a measure (H. B.

[1]These ideas are more fully stated in the *Minnesota Law Review* for March 1943, pp. 383-398.

[2]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April, p. 198, and May, p. 257.

728, effective August 10, 1943) to enable municipalities of less than 5,000 population to adopt by referendum the manager plan as set forth in the act.

Garfield, New Jersey, is showing interest in the manager plan.

Municipal Cooperation in Fighting Fire

City fire departments can go to the aid of neighboring cities in emergencies under legislation adopted by Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Washington, and several other states this year, the American Municipal Association reports.

Practically all state laws authorizing municipal fire departments to give outside aid in emergencies are patterned after a California statute adopted in 1941 which removed barriers to the exchange of such governmental services as police, fire, health and welfare protection between cities, and removed the danger of liability for accidents and damages occurring during performance of such services. Heretofore these barriers discouraged even extension of fire protection to suburban and rural areas.

California revised this arrangement somewhat this year by giving the State War Council authority to order mandatory mutual aid by fire departments.

Minnesota Fosters Inter-Governmental Cooperation

At the recently concluded session of the Minnesota legislature there was enacted a law authorizing any two or more governmental units (including counties, cities, villages, towns, and school districts) to make agreements for the joint exercise of any power common to the contracting parties. The units involved may provide for disbursements from public funds to carry out the purposes agreed upon. Agreements may be continued for a definite term or until rescinded or terminated, and must provide for the disposition of any property acquired as a result of such joint exercise of power. The legislation was sponsored by the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

New York Redevelopment Project Meets Opposition

The New York City Board of Estimate on June 3 approved the form of contract and plans for the $50,000,000 "Stuyvesant Town" postwar housing project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in a seventy-five-acre area of the lower east side of Manhattan borough, under the recently amended redevelopment companies law.[1] The vote was eleven to five, after a heated public hearing, with opposition largely directed to the fact that although the insurance company was granted the benefit of condemnation, tax exemption on improvements, and the use of a large area of city streets, provisions for public schools and against racial discrimination as to tenants were omitted. Lawsuits opposing the action of the Board have already been started.

Senate Seeks to Control 30,000 More Jobs

On June 14 the United States Senate passed by a vote of forty-two to twenty-nine the McKellar bill which would require Senate confirmation of additional federal officials and employees to an estimated total of 30,000. The number includes all those receiving $4,500 or more yearly, except persons with specified civil service standing, those on leave for active military service, or returned therefrom, and members of the FBI and the President's office staff.

[1]See "Private Enterprise Plan in Housing Faces First Test" (p. 284) and "New State Legislation on Urban Redevelopment" (p. 330), NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for June.

Citizen Action
Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Postwar Planning Starts at the Grass Roots

Brings Government Home to the People, Says Kizer

Today local, state, and federal governments, as well as our business, financial, labor, farm, and civic groups, are discussing their postwar roles or are actually engaged in postwar planning.

Yet, despite the acceptance of the principle of planning by such diverse groups, the argument over who should do it, and how, goes on.

As a contribution to this discussion we here reproduce the planning philosophy of Benjamin H. Kizer[1] because of his emphasis on "citizen action" in planning. He views the problem from a diverse experience as member of a west coast law firm, chairman of the Spokane City Plan Commission, the Washington State Planning Council, Regional Chairman No. 9 for the National Resources Planning Board, and civic leader in his community and his state.—EDITOR.

THOSE who oppose planning often speak of it as a proposal offered by long-haired theorists to make overall or master plans for the control of our government and its economy. This is exactly the opposite of what we who engage in planning are doing. It is non-planning that produces the huge congestion of power and authority at the nation's capital. It is non-planning that produces bureaucracy in our government, and periods of chaos and black night in our economy.

Planning starts at the grass roots. In resource management, planning starts with the farm, the forest, the river, the mine, the production unit. It is only when you plan that you start with the unit of government or of production.

Planning Brings Government Home to the People: Planning is essentially democratic. Instead of centralizing the nation's government in Washington, planning would distribute these forces into regions and localities. National policies would still be adopted at the nation's capital, but these policies would be the result of planned gathering of information in each county and state of the nation. The enforcement of these policies would be distributed to regional and local offices as far as possible. The men carrying out policies should confront, from day to day, the citizens affected by these policies. It is this confronting in person the people who are affected by what this government official does that is the basic requirement of sound planning. Thus, and only thus, can the administrator learn what should be done.

A bureaucrat is a man with authority who is a long way off. His information comes to him from remote sources. It may be wrong, or lop-sided, or sent with big gaps, to influence him to a certain decision. He must guess, or delay. Often he does both. Or, he avoids deciding it by merely talking as if he were deciding it, while leaving the heart of his difficulty unsolved. This, because he knows he is moving in the dark, too far off from the scene where the problem is.

Local acquaintance with the factors of any problem makes simple that which is complex seen at a distance. Planning would abolish the bureaucrat, because it would marry power to the locality where it is exerted.

Planning's Basis Is Research: Planning

[1]From "Planning Starts at the Grass Roots," by Benjamin H. Kizer, *Independent Woman*, publication of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, May 1943.

is more than distributing governmental administration. Planning sees that government has run too long on opinions and guesses. When opinions control, those who shout loudest, who see their own interests most clearly, will prevail. This leads to minority government, to government by what we call "special interests." Planning proposes that governmental action be based on information, thoroughly, impartially collected by a staff trained for the purpose. No government can be wiser than its information. . . . Government in our country has gone as long as it can by guessing, by listening to the loudest shouters. It must serve all the people, not just the noisiest, the most influential. More and more, city councils, legislatures, and Congress itself must set up inquiry groups, research and planning agencies.

More Citizen Action

Wider Citizen Participation in Government: Further, it is true, planning creates greater citizen participation in government. If we are to make democracy work, we must find means to bring our citizens into closer relationships with their government. We must so carefully plan that relationship that the citizen will no longer look at government as some alien power, whose rules are to be evaded where safe, to be feared and disliked when unsafe.

Though men will die for those principles of freedom and democracy of which our government is the custodian, a great number of our people do not like their government. They too often experience it as something apart, that is run by someone else, in which they have no part. This feeling is a grave threat to popular government. We must plan techniques of participation in our government that will break down this hostility. We, the people, must actually work at governing ourselves. That's starting at the grass roots.

"People's Opinion Poll" Tested in Experiment

Use of public opinion polls has long been made by Dr. George Gallup, by *Fortune Magazine,* and others to test public thinking on national issues. More recently the Kansas City Civic Research Institute and the Bureau of Urban Research at Princeton University have shown how opinion research can be useful in cities.

There also has been some experimentation in the use of polls not only to discover opinion trends but also as a bridge between government and the citizen to increase the democratic sense of participation. Here is a report from the *Christian Science Monitor* by Selden Menefee on one of these experiments.—EDITOR.

In the little town of Valparaiso, Indiana, is a committee of some forty people who believe they have found a formula for making democracy work. For the past year they have been trying out their theories on the citizens of Porter County, in a little poll of their own which they call the People's Opinion Poll—"POP" for short.

The philosophy behind this movement is very simple. It comes of a conviction that as our towns and cities have grown, something vital has gone out of the democratic process. That something is best symbolized by the old New England custom of holding town meetings. Entering a voting booth every two or four years is a far cry from publicly debating issues of immediate interest and voting on them then and there.

Bridging the Gap

To some extent the commercial public opinion poll has helped to bridge the gap between the people and their representatives between elections. They have made known to Congress public sentiment on major national issues. This has been useful at times. But there is something undemocratic, too, about existing polls. Working with a sample

as small as 3,000 for the nation, they reach only about one voter in 20,000. The one thing lacking is a sense of democratic participation on the part of the 19,999 voters not interviewed.

The People's Opinion Poll of Porter County has as its aim the correction of these unfavorable features. Its spark-plug is Dr. W. L. Cortelyou, professor of biology at Valparaiso University. *He conceives of the ideal poll as a device for educating the people and helping to integrate the community, rather than as simply a problem in statistics.*

All to Be Reached

To these ends, Dr. Cortelyou's group proposes to divide each county or group of counties in the nation into fifty groups of similar size and composition, on a neighborhood or precinct basis, and to poll one of these groups each week, taking them in rotation until every voter in every area has been reached. The President, Congress, and the people themselves would propose the questions, and district, state, and federal boards would then select the question of the week. The neighborhoods to be polled would hold meetings during the week preceding the vote to discuss the question. Radio and newspapers would carry arguments, thus minimizing the snap judgments which sometimes predominate in present polls.

Ballots would be distributed by mail and return postage prepaid; then classified by age, sex, race, occupation, etc., and the results sent to government and press.

On a nation-wide basis, presumably more than a million voters would be polled each week. The project would be financed by federal funds; such a poll could be conducted for three or four years, Dr. Cortelyou believes, for the cost of one battleship.

The work of the Porter County POP so far has consisted only of polling 200 persons selected at random from the voters, using return postcards, and publishing the results in the local paper. During the last half of 1942, for example, the POP learned that 85 per cent of its respondents opposed gasoline rationing for Indiana before it was put into effect; that an even greater majority favored continuing our biennial national elections in wartime (there were only two dissenters on this); that the median number of working hours favored was forty-four; and that a majority of the people in the locality backed the President when he threatened Congress if it did not act immediately to prevent inflation.

Fair Returns

The proportion of postcard recipients who bothered to reply in these experimental polls ranged from 40 per cent on the gas rationing question down to almost zero on a question concerning the county health services. This meant the respondents were a selected group, as people of higher education and economic status always tend to answer mail communications most frequently.

Dr. Cortelyou answers this criticism by saying he is trying to measure informed opinion, of an intensity great enough to lead people to return a penny postcard. Certainly a constant check would have to be made by means of personal interviews to determine whether persons of low income and educational status are represented in proportion to the intensity of their feelings on various questions.

The POP committee is now attempting to cover all of Porter County as an experimental area. One state senator has promised to sponsor a bill extending the poll to all of Indiana, to cover statewide issues. On the national scene, the only progress made so far was the insertion of a summary of the plan in the *Congressional Record* last June by

Representative Charles Halleck of Indiana.

Roundup—

Belleville (N. J.) citizens are publishing a newsletter primarily to keep the men away in service in touch with what the community is doing. Printing costs are paid by local business concerns; the editorial work is done by a group of volunteer citizens. . . . The first issue, called *Belleville Today,* is being circulated now and it is an extremely worth-while activity which might well be undertaken by any citizen organization; we shouldn't be surprised if it would serve to strengthen morale on the home front as well as among the men for whom it is prepared, since the home folk are reading it too.

The **National League of Women Voters** has changed the name of its monthly publication from *Member's Magazine* to *Citizens All* and says, significantly: "Every member of the League of Women Voters is a citizen first. She has joined the League of Women Voters in order to help make better citizens. If she had become a member only for her own benefit, she would now resign. Organizations today are essential only if they can help win the war and the peace. That is why *Member's Magazine* has changed its name." *Citizens All* will be published monthly, except July and August.

Recent conference programs have increasingly emphasized the especial importance of the citizen in public affairs today. . . . The subject for the annual convention of the **New York City League of Women Voters** held in May was "The City and the Citizen in Wartime". . . . Last month the **American Planning and Civic Association** sponsored "The Citizens Conference on Planning" in Omaha, which stressed citizen participation in local, regional, and national postwar planning.

Philadelphia's Committee of Seventy has published its "Election Calendar," giving full election facts in preparation for July registration, the September primary, and the November general election. From it the voter learns, among other points, the offices to be filled, salaries, incumbents, legislative and councilmanic districts, wards, voting qualifications, and the membership of the City Committees of both major parties. Supplementary is the May-June issue of the Committee's news letter *Civic Affairs* urging citizens to keep an eye on the City Committees who select candidates prior to the primaries; the way in which such committees usually work is contrasted with the way they should work if guided by an alert citizenry.

The **Minneapolis Research Bureau,** an affiliate of the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** circulated its *Voters' Directory* ahead of the June 14 election, with the slogan: "Vote—That's the Home Job." Conveniently arranged, and easy to use, the directory listed all candidates on whom citizens were to vote. The directory presented facts only, no recommendations, consistent with the Bureau's policy as a nonpartisan, fact-finding organization.

The **Citizens League of Baltimore** has put out another of its useful *Citizens Bulletins*—this one, published in April, was a voters' guide for the municipal election. In addition to information about candidates, it included material on propositions to be voted on.

At the annual meeting of the **New York City League of Women Voters,** a very complete little political calendar was distributed. It contained all the necessary details about petitions, conventions, independent nominations, registration and election, as well as information about voting by members of the armed forces.

R. M. W.

County and Township
Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Proposed Charter Provides Manager for Montgomery County, Md.

Voters Will Ballot on New Law in November 1944

THE movement toward home rule for Montgomery County, Maryland, which two years ago resulted in a Brookings Institution survey and report, now has entered its crucial phase.[1] The Montgomery County Charter Board, which was elected last November, has drafted and submitted its charter to the Board of County Commissioners. There remains only submission of the home rule proposal to the voters. This will take place at the regular election in November 1944, and if accepted the charter will become effective thirty days thereafter.

Legislative Power to County

One of the outstanding features of the proposal lies in the completeness of departure from the existing status of Maryland counties. Where at present they are mere administrative districts possessing the minimum functions usually assigned to counties, the new charter would give Montgomery County the maximum of powers usually granted "home rule" counties.

This broad grant of authority to the county is implied in the opening premises of the preamble which declare: "We the people of Montgomery County in the state of Maryland, recognizing that the people of Maryland have in their constitution reserved to us the right of home rule through the adoption for our county of a charter or form of government of our choice and have transferred to us certain sovereign powers of the people and General Assembly of Maryland. . . ."

A bill of rights in the charter is introduced with the statement, "The government of this county originates from the people who maintain their right at all times to alter or reorganize their form of government pursuant to law."

The transference of "certain sovereign powers" becomes more fully revealed in the provisions regarding the County Council. This body is identified as the "legislative branch" of the county government. It is empowered to "enact public local laws for the county" and even to "repeal or amend local laws heretofore enacted by the General Assembly."

Although the charter marks no unique departure from trends in county government, its adoption would place Montgomery County in the vanguard of the county home rule movement. It would be an additional demonstration of how in metropolitan areas the granting of "police power" to urban and suburban counties is invalidating the distinction between counties as administrative units on the one hand and municipalities as public corporations on the other. As a practical means of circumventing artificial barriers preventing normal development of a metropolitan area the trend is probably inevitable. In this instance the complexities of the solution are increased by the fact that the area contains our nation's capital.

The proposed County Council would meet as a "legislative" body only during the month of May. During the remainder of the year it could meet in "executive" session performing functions such as those delegated at present to the Board of Supervisors. In addi-

[1] See "Montgomery County, Maryland, Works Toward New Charter," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1943, pp. 207-210.

tion, six of the nine members, when sitting in executive session, could veto any law passed by the legislative session. Any person could make formal request of the Council to take such action any time prior to June 15 following enactment, the effective date of all laws except those subject to referenda.

Laws subject to referenda would be those granting franchises or special privileges, incurring indebtedness with minor exceptions, and granting use of county real or leasehold property. Such laws would become effective the August 15 after enactment unless in the interim there is filed a valid petition requesting a referendum and signed by 5 per cent of the voters of the county. The referendum would be held at the next general or special election, and if the law is then approved it would become effective the fifteenth day after election.

The County Council would be composed of nine members, an increase of four over the present Board of Supervisors. Five would be elected from present districts and the remaining four at large. All would be elected for four-year terms on nonpartisan ballots at each quadrennial election. The Council would select its president and a secretary except that when it is sitting in legislative session the county attorney would be secretary as well as legislative draftsman and legal counsel to the body. Standing committees woud be prohibited.

Manager to Be Appointed

In addition to the veto function, duties of the Council in executive session would include appointment of a county manager, a county attorney, and a personnel board, consultation with the manager concerning other major appointments, adoption of current and five-year capital budgets, preparation of the legislative program, and execution of other powers granted it by the constitution and general laws of Maryland.

The manager would be the chief administrative officer of the county, holding his office at pleasure of the Council but entitled to a public hearing if the latter should institute removal proceedings. In accordance with law and instructions of the County Council, he would supervise the departments of finance, public works, and safety. This would include appointment and removal of department heads in consultation with the Council and subject to budget limitations and the regulations of the County Personnel Board. Furthermore he would draft budgets, supervise records and accounts, prepare reports for the Council, and perform similar tasks required of him.

The County Personnel Board, which would be appointed by the Council, would sit for three-year overlapping terms. The county manager would serve as executive secretary. It would issue, subject to approval of the County Council, regulations on personnel matters and act as an appellate body to hear appeals on actions involving removal of appointed personnel except removal of the county manager.

The charter also provides for centralized purchasing, debt limitation of 7 per cent of assessed value, and an annual independent audit. Bonds are made callable five years after issue, they must be of serial type, and final maturity must not be more than thirty years after issue.

Local Defense Councils

Nearly 13,000 local civilian defense councils have been organized throughout the country, says the Office of Civilian Defense. These include both county and municipal councils. Serving approximately 81 per cent of the civilian population, the councils are manned by over ten million civilian volunteer workers.

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

U. S. Supreme Court Furthers Sound Local Finance

Renders Decision in Florida Everglades District Case

WHEN local government finances become involved in litigation, the final result is often similar to the horse and rabbit meat stew of the old quip. The financial factors tend to become hopelessly lost in a welter of legal technicalities. There has been a natural tendency to such an extreme in cases under the so-called Municipal Bankruptcy Act, the federal measure providing for judicial composition of the debts of local government debtors, where bondholders have shown an understandable tendency to seek to enforce the letter of their instruments and the governmental units have sought to retain the full protection available to them under the law.

Fortunately for the outlook of sound local finance, the highest courts have shown an increasing disposition to insist that the financial realities of each situation be given due weight.

Within the past year two decisions have been handed down by the United States Supreme Court which greatly further the cause of sound solutions to local financial problems which result in litigation. In the case of *Faitout Iron & Steel Company, et al.*, vs. *City of Asbury Park*,[1] decided in June 1942, the court in upholding a debt composition effected under New Jersey's excellent system of state control of local financial programs gave the widest possible scope to consideration of the financial factors.

Now, in a case just handed down involving the Everglades Drainage District, Florida, the Court has further emphasized that the courts in approving debt composition plans must be guided by fiscal information which is the best available.

Said the Court[2]: "Where future tax revenues are the only source to which creditors can look for payment of their claims, considered estimates of those revenues constitute the only available basis for appraising the respective interests of different classes of creditors.

"In order that a court may determine the fairness of the total amount of cash or securities offered to creditors by the plan, the court must have before it data which will permit a reasonable, and hence an informed, estimate of the probable future revenues available for the satisfaction of creditors. . . . To support such determination, there must be findings, in such detail and exactness as the nature of the case permits, of subsidiary facts on which the ultimate conclusion of fairness can rationally be predicated."

1943 Louisville Award Announced

James H. Lowther, assistant chief of the finance statistics branch of the Dominion (Canadian) Bureau of Statistics, has received the annual Louisville Award for 1943. The award, given annually to the person who made the outstanding contribution in the field of governmental finance to his government during the last year, was announced at the opening session of the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada at Pittsburgh, June 15.

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1942, p. 412.

[2]As reported by the *Daily Bond Buyer*, June 3, 1943, p. 894.

Winner of the Silver Medal, second of two awards made annually for outstanding service by a public finance officer, was N. J. Sindelar, director of finance for the city of Superior, Wisconsin.

Named also were winners of the Achievement Awards, given in connection with the Louisville award, to governmental units which with the combined work of several persons make substantial improvements in financial plans or procedures. Kansas City, Missouri, won the award for large United States cities; Barrington, Rhode Island, for small United States cities; and Quebec, Canada, for large Canadian cities.

The Louisville awards are financed by a unique contribution by the city of Louisville, Kentucky, to provide a perpetual incentive to more effective work in the field of public finance. Joseph M. Cunningham, deputy city comptroller of New York City, won the 1942 award.

Judges selected Mr. Lowther to receive the gold medallion for his work in writing a manual of instructions for dominion-wide use of municipal officials in preparing financial statements. "The energy, enthusiasm, tact, and ability of Mr. Lowther produced a finished document, in both English and French, that will serve as a guide for the improvement of municipal accounting and reporting throughout the entire country," the citation said.

Copies of the manual have been distributed to every municipality in Canada, where it will serve as a guide for municipal financial reports and will tend to standardize and improve municipal accounting throughout the country. Samuel Gascon of Quebec, provincial statistician, translated the manual from English into French.

In winning the Silver Medal, Mr. Sindelar was cited for designing and installing a complete accounting system for the city of Superior. Previous to installation of the new system there was much duplication of work among the departments dealing with financial matters.

Kansas City received the Achievement Award for large American cities for complete modernization and revision of its financial practices and procedure under direction of City Manager L. P. Cookingham. A budget now is carefully prepared and controlled; accounting has been centralized and mechanized, cost accounts have been installed, uniform classifications adopted, water works accounting improved with an annual saving of $30,000; purchasing is done well with consequent savings; and assessment and collection procedures have been completely overhauled.

The citation accompanying the Achievement Award for small United States municipalities, which went to Barrington, Rhode Island (6,231), said, "the accomplishments of this town show that a small community with capable leadership can be well managed and progressive." Howard E. Munroe is the town treasurer.

The Achievement Award for larger Canadian municipalities was given to Quebec for work done by the Department of Finance, headed by C. R. Fontaine, city treasurer, resulting in a modern and effective system of financial control and general administration.

The board of judges for the 1943 Louisville Awards consisted of George P. Ellis, certified public accountant, Chicago, former president of the American Society of Certified Public Accountants, now vice-president of the American Institute of Accountants; Welles A. Gray, finance department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; and Henry L. Shattuck, well known attorney and legislator of Boston.

"Bronxville Plan" Placed in Operation

The "Bronxville Plan," a unique refunding proposal, has been approved by the New York State Comptroller's Office and has been placed in operation with the sale of a $130,000 refunding issue.

As explained by Bronxville's Mayor Ralph B. Maltby: "It has been the general practice of municipalities to refund specific maturities when and as a burdensome debt retirement situation has arisen, instead of giving careful consideration to a long range plan of orderly and proportionate retirement of debt. By prudently planning the retirement over a period of years, it is possible for a municipality to discharge its public obligations within the limits of reasonable tax assessment and ability to pay.

"The 'Bronxville Plan,' which has been approved by the State Comptroller, is a comprehensive rearrangement of maturities of the village's debt. It provides for the issuance of $130,000 of refunding bonds dated July 1, 1943, for the refunding of $27,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1943-44, $43,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1944-45, $30,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1945-46, and $30,000 of bonds maturing during the fiscal year 1946-47.

"The proceeds of the sale, under the State Comptroller's order, may be invested in securities which constitute direct obligations of the United States Government or obligations the principal and interest of which are unconditionally guaranteed by the United States Government, maturing at such times and in such amounts as may be necessary to pay the bonds being refunded as they respectively mature. All securities so purchased will be protected against loss by registration in the name of the village or by insurance.

"It is expected that the interest collected on U. S. Government obligations, if so purchased, will nearly equal the interest payable on refunding bonds during the interim period until the proceeds of the sale of refunding bonds are required to retire the bonds which are being refunded."

Bronxville's most recent peak debt service was $120,517 in fiscal 1940-41. Prior to the new refunding operation it faced a debt service charge in fiscal 1943-44 of $126,293 and $135,255 in fiscal 1944-45. The refunding plan scales the 1943-44 requirements down to $101,568 and the maturity schedule from that point slopes gradually and consistently downward.

This marks the first use of the plan in New York State. Although its application to other communities will depend upon the facts in each instance, the plan undoubtedly will be considered by many municipalities both in New York and elsewhere, particularly in view of its possibilities of providing an inexpensive method of refunding, at the same time making additional funds available to the federal government in time of need.

Federal Withholding Tax Adopted by Congress

The final adoption by Congress and signing by the President of a withholding tax law embracing some of the "forgiveness" features of the original Ruml plan need only be recorded here. In so far as the state and local government units are concerned, they will share with private employers the need for making hurried plans to revise payroll preparation methods to take care of the deductions which must be made. Experience acquired in handling the "Victory Tax" will enable most units to make the change with a minimum of confusion.

In this connection, it is of interest to note that Canada has, since September

1, 1942, been operating a withholding tax system, adopted without the fuss and prolonged wrangling which marked the course of the corresponding legislation here.[8]

Local Borrowing Costs Approach Pre-War Low

In the months since Pearl Harbor, the municipal bond market has almost regained its pre-war status, according to *The Bond Buyer's* index of municipal bond yields. The index for twenty representative bonds for June 1, 1943, was 1.93 per cent and for eleven high grade bonds 1.60 per cent, figures identical with those for December 1, 1941, six days before the Japanese attack. The all-time low interest yields for both groups had been on November 1, 1941, when the twenty representative issue index was 1.90 per cent and the high-grade index was 1.57 per cent. The high-water mark in each case had been May 1, 1933, when the twenty-bond group hit 5.69 per cent and the smaller group reached 4.90 per cent.

In the month following our entrance into the war the index mounted to 2.24 per cent for the twenty issues and 1.91 per cent for the eleven issues. By March 1, 1942, the war-time peak (to date) was reached, at 2.51 per cent for the broader group and at 2.19 per cent for the more select issues. Since that time, the yield had trended downward, with occasional interruptions.

A factor in the preservation of low borrowing costs for local units has been, of course, the general stability of the nation's banking and investment system and the increasing scarcity of state and municipal bond offerings.

[8]For an interesting discussion of the Canadian setup, see Popular Release No. 80-81, May 5, 1943, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Wheeling's Third P. R. Election

New York Council Cuts the Budget

WHEELING, West Virginia, held its third quadrennial P. R. election of its nine-man city council on May 27.

The election appears to have been conducted against a background of general satisfaction with the city's government under the P. R. council that has served for the last four years and the city manager, Robert L. Plummer, chosen by it. In an editorial the day before election the *Wheeling News-Register* said:

> Under the proportional representation plan of voting, the election is non-partisan and non-sectional. Since the adoption of this system, Wheeling has been blessed with splendid government. The city is living within its income. Though its activities have been restricted by wartime exigencies, the administration has been businesslike, progressive, and always with an eye to economy.

A Top Record of Efficiency

Instead of endorsing a list of candidates as in previous elections the Wheeling Association, original sponsor of the present charter, ran advertisements giving instructions on the method of voting, reminding the citizens of the high quality of their government, and urging them to turn out and vote to keep it so. One advertisement quoted an editorial of December 27, 1942, in the *Dallas News* run under the ingenious caption "Free Wheeling":

> The distinction falls to Wheeling, West Virginia, among all American cities. At the end of this fiscal year,

Wheeling was reducing indebtedness, with a cash balance of $166,000 in the bank. That is being free, indeed, as any large municipality and its taxpaying citizens will attest. And only seven years ago Wheeling faced a deficit of $400,000.

How was this record of governmental operation scored? The so-called Cincinnati plan of proportional representation was introduced, producing city councils who were tied to no political organization. This made it possible for representative government to function efficiently in the public interest under the city manager plan. A pay-as-you-go policy was instituted. A sound financial administration was established.

Well ordered operation under this improved system has pulled Wheeling out of the red in these seven years. That doesn't sum all that the city has accomplished. The National Municipal League, only last week, announced that Wheeling's [adjusted] tax rate was the lowest in the nation—$10.50 on the $1,000. And there was not, as some might suppose, any letdown in progress, or any impairment of the efficiency of service. Nor was there any niggardly cheese-paring. The salaries of municipal employees were increased 10 to 20 per cent, even while the tax rate declined, and in the past year public projects to the value of $1,200,000 were planned and their financing authorized.

Most Councilmen Re-elected

The citizens of Wheeling themselves expressed their satisfaction with this record by re-electing seven of the nine councilmen. One of the two defeated was runner-up and the other was not far behind in twelfth place.

This selection was made from thirty-nine candidates. This number may also have been partly a reflection of satisfaction with the record of the incumbents, for there were seventy-three candidates under Wheeling's unusually easy nomination provisions four years ago, and at the initial P. R. election eight years ago, when all of the previous ward councilmen were displaced, Wheeling set a world's record for P. R. elections with 122 candidates.

There were no slates in evidence. Most of the campaigning was done by newspaper advertising for individual candidates.

With no concerted challenge to continued good government presented and with many of the younger voters away in the armed forces, the vote was comparatively light—14,768 valid ballots as compared with approximately 19,000 in 1939.

None of the candidates polled a full quota (1,477) of first choices, but six of the nine completed full quotas by transfer. The last three elected ended with totals not far short of the quota—1,406, 1,365 and 1,260. Thus 87 per cent of those who cast valid ballots helped elect candidates for whom they voted.

There was a wide scattering of first choices. If the first-choice totals had been accepted as final, as is sometimes suggested, slightly more than half the valid ballots would have had no effect on the result (the total of first choices for the eventual winners was 6,824 or 46 per cent). As the ballots were transferred successively from the lowest candidates to the next available choices marked on them there were a number of changes in the order of the contestants. The sixth and ninth candidates in first-choice standing were eventually defeated, while the tenth first-choice candidate moved up to ninth, and the thirteenth first-choice candidate, a new man, was elected in eighth place.

Frank Camilletti, the experienced count director, made further improvements on previous counting arrangements. With the aid of several assistants and about a hundred counters, he started the count shortly after the polls closed at 8.30 Thursday evening and finished it Saturday. The day before election he broadcast instructions

in the P. R. method of voting to the citizens of Wheeling.

A Satisfactory Result

Summing up the election of "Wheeling's War Council" editorially on May 30 the *News-Register* commented:

> That the voters approved of the present regime was amply demonstrated when they installed seven of nine incumbents. The two councilmen who failed to make the grade were just outside the qualifying list. . . .
>
> During the coming years, the incoming council will be confronted by many problems that have been induced by a nation at war. This newspaper has fullest confidence the representatives who make up the body will carry on their functions and administer the needs of their city capably and courageously.
>
> It is not amiss to state that possibly the last vestige of complaint that has been lodged against the proportional representation system of electing a council was eliminated when official announcement of the result was made forty-eight hours after the polls closed.

The New York Council Asserts Itself

The New York City Council has just exercised one of its most important powers for the first time; and, thanks to two minority members who owe their places to P. R., it has done so with considerable discrimination.

The city charter gives the Council power to reduce the expense budget after it is presented by the Mayor and approved or modified by the Board of Estimate, but it also permits the Mayor to veto any reduction and requires a three-quarters vote of the Council to override his veto. The Council on June 10 overrode Mayor LaGuardia's veto of budget cuts totaling some three million dollars and upheld his veto on some seven million more

Thanks to the minority representation assured by P. R. the Democratic majority does not have a three-fourths majority in the Council or even the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto of an ordinary local law. It can therefore override the Mayor only when it gets the support of some of the Fusion members.

It received the necessary extra votes on some items of the 1943-1944 budget from former Manhattan Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs, who was elected to the Council in 1941 as the nominee of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee and the City Fusion Party, without the nomination of any of the three legally recognized parties; Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., nominee of the Manhattan American Labor and City Fusion parties and the Council's only Negro member; and John Christensen, Republican from Queens. These items removed appropriations for the salaries of numerous absentees in the armed forces whose places will not actually be filled and for fuel to replenish large reserves as they are used. Even with these reductions there will be an increase in the tax rate, but it will be less serious than under the Mayor's original budget.

The Council majority and Mr. Christensen also wanted to eliminate the appropriations for the city radio station, the health research institute, and various sums in the Education Department which were not needed for the purposes specified but were available for transfer by the Board of Education to important purposes not otherwise provided for. On these items, which would also have been eliminated except for the minority representation secured by P. R., Mr. Isaacs and Dr. Powell voted with the rest of the Fusion opposition, to the great satisfaction of many civic groups and independent voters.

The *New York World-Telegram* of

June 12 commended the Council editorially:

> The action of the City Council in overriding some of the Mayor's vetoes of its budget cuts is, we think, a particularly sound and healthy precedent.
>
> It was certainly not the intent of the framers of the city charter, in giving the Council power (Section 125) to restore by a three-fourths vote of its members cuts vetoed by the Mayor, that the Council should never exercise this power.
>
> Nor can we think of a better time to begin exercising it than now when war-burdened taxpayers are entitled to have the cost of municipal government kept down. . . .
>
> The Council has done a timely and courageous thing, as we see it, in asserting itself, as the local legislative body of the city, against a Mayor more and more inclined to regard his executive function as all-embracing and final, particularly in the matter of city finance and taxes.
>
> It will be extra good news to New York City taxpayers in wartime that they have not only a city legislature but one spunky enough to use its pruning knife on mayoral budgets and see the job through.

ON THE LOCAL FRONT

(Continued from Page 391)

In the field of research, studies have been conducted for the military authorities on possible malaria preventives, combat flying problems, vaccines, and other work of a secret military nature. Other advances in research include the development of continuous caudal analgesia, and experimental work on the growth of cancer cells which may lead ultimately to the discovery of the cause of cancer.

The Surgeon General stressed the need for a more comprehensive nurse training program in order to meet military and civilian needs. Though Congress appropriated $1,800,000 for the fiscal year 1942 and $3,500,000 for 1943, he stated, the goals which were possible within the limits of these appropriations have already been reached. To date, some eight thousand nurses have been retrained and admissions to under-graduate or basic schools of nursing increased last year by almost 12,000 over 1940-41. Yet the wartime needs are far from being met.

With approximately one-third of the doctors in active full-time practice now in the armed services, the Surgeon General reported an urgent shortage of doctors and dentists in many war-industry areas and anticipated a need in certain rural areas. On the basis of studies already made, it is estimated that five hundred physicians and dentists will be needed in 332 boom areas in the next fourteen months. It is not possible to predict how many will be supplied by voluntary relocation through efforts of Procurement and Assignment Service. When the needs cannot be met in this way, the Public Health Service will be requested to assign doctors for the areas in greatest need.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Thirty Schools Tell Their Story. Adventure in American Education Volume V.[1] Prepared under the direction of the Commission on the Relation of School and College of the Progressive Education Association. New York City, Harper and Brothers, 1943. xxiii, 802 pp. $4.

"Institutions are living things and they do not easily yield their secrets to the printed word." This quotation from Harold Laski opens the account of the educational process in one of the schools which became part of an eight-year experiment.

In 1933 several hundred colleges and universities decided to waive prescribed entrance requirements and leave to secondary schools full freedom in the preparation of pupils for higher education. As these 800 pages are read we realize that though the secret of the success of these schools is perhaps not yielded easily, nevertheless it is yielded.

We get fascinating glimpses of the personalities and their capacities resulting from the educational process which goes on in these schools. We get a far better clue as to what sort of American will run this country two decades from now than can be secured from the answers to the recent much discussed history questionnaire of *The New York Times*. That dealt with what after all is "book knowledge"; such knowledge is good in its way but of far less value than "how to" knowledge based upon experience.

The main secret revealed by these stories is that when democratic methods are used in teaching, in school government, in teacher-student and student-student relations, the intelligence of the individual student rises, the ability to deal successfully with personal and group problems grows. The value of democracy as a method of education is reflected on almost every page, but actually it is more than a method with value only within the school. The students who use this method of education realize that they will live happily in the larger world only if it too uses the method they have learned, not as words but as skill. This fact is succinctly stated in the words of the junior students of one of the experimental schools: "Since we have learned of what value freedom is, we will fight for its continuance all through our lives much more fervently than we would if we had never experienced it." We know without asking that this implies not only a readiness to fight on battlefields to keep what freedom we have, but also a readiness to fight to extend democracy to the areas of our total life in which it is not yet the prevailing pattern.

Those active in citizen organizations interested in good local government will be amazed at the amount of teaching in these schools based on material from or contact with local government. Hence the book can be put to several good uses—as a means of comparison with one's own community, as a means of educating local educators if that be

[1]Previous volumes in this series include *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*, by Wilford M. Aikin; *Exploring the Curriculum*, the Work of the Thirty Schools from the Viewpoint of Curriculum Consultants, by H. H. Giles, S. P. McCutchen, and A. N. Zechiel; *Appraising and Recording Student Progress*, Evaluation, Records and Reports in the Thirty Schools, by Eugene R. Smith, Ralph W. Tyler, and the Evaluation Staff; *Did They Succeed in College?* The Follow-Up Study of the Graduates of the Thirty Schools, by Dean Chamberlin, Enid Straw Chamberlin, Neal E. Drought, and William E. Scott.

necessary, as a means of educating the members of the local school board which is more often necessary, and as a means of self-education.

The book is put aside with a glow of thankfulness that the "Adventure in Education" which called it forth has been so successful. But this glow is followed by a question: What means are our adult citizen organizations using to see to it that, after these students leave such schools so well equipped with ideas, ideals, and experience, they can at once get "into the harness" of community and citizenship activity, for many of our cities are in sore need of the full flowering of such superb citizenship.

WALTER J. MILLARD

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Civil Service

Documents and Reports to Accompany Report on Civil Service Improvement (three volumes). By The President's Committee on Civil Service Improvement. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1942. Vol. 1, 72 pp., 20 cents; Vol. 2, 117 pp., 30 cents; Vol. 3 (Part 1) 196 pp., 40 cents; Vol. 3 (Part 2), 205 pp., 40 cents.

Recruiting Applicants for the Public Service. Report of the Committee on Recruiting Applicants for the Public Service. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1942. xvi, 200 pp. $3.

Democracy

Democratic Leadership in Total War. Address before Cleveland College of Western Reserve University. By Edward L. Bernays. Cleveland, Western Reserve University, 1943. 8 pp. (Apply to E. D. Whittlesey, Director of Public Information, Western Reserve University.)

Postwar Problems and Peace

Fundamentals for Lasting Peace. Report by The International Relations Section, Raymond G. McKelvey, chairman. Los Angeles, Town Hall, 1943. 7 pp.

Parallel Passages on Postwar Problems: Winston Churchill's Speech of March 21, 1943, and National Resources Planning Board, Report for 1943, Part I—Postwar Plan and Program. Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1943. 12 pp.

Public Works

Public Works Engineers' Yearbook 1943, Including the Proceedings of the 1942 Public Works Congress, Cleveland, Ohio, October 18-21, 1942. Chicago, American Public Works Association, 1943. viii, 333 pp. Ill. $3.75.

Taxation and Finance

The British Tax System. By Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1943. 9 pp. 25 cents.

War

Handbook of Emergency War Agencies. By Office of War Information. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1943. 143 pp. 20 cents.

A List of U. S. War Information Films. Washington, D. C., Bureau of Motion Pictures, Washington, D. C., 1943. 28 pp.